

# The Quarterly Journal

OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

(orig. turning) SEQ. R.I.-P.3 PROD. "... HELEN?"  
MAIN TITLE: "WHAT'S THE MATTER WITH HELEN?"  
Clik no. 41 (orig. count) PAGE 2  
Main Title (Part 1) "Also Striving"

Alto Sax (in isolation booth - separate track)  
Fl. mt. cresc. (separate track)  
Ob. stff. Dim.  
E.H. stff. xchime  
Bass Cello Dim.  
Bass 205 stff. 13  
Timp. 203  
Hr. 14  
Tuba 15  
Tuba 16  
Bell d. 17  
Cymb. 18  
Dr. 19  
Timp. 20

Handwritten musical score for "Main Title (Part 1)". The score is written for a large ensemble, including strings, woodwinds, brass, and percussion. The tempo is marked "Alto Striving". The score is divided into measures, with measure numbers 13, 14, 15, and 16 visible. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.





DAVID RAKSIN

Music for Films

COURTESY  
OF AMERICAN  
FEDERATION OF  
MUSICIANS

SIDE 1

33<sup>1/3</sup> RPM  
MONAURAL

"Force of Evil"

(First Kiss, original version)  
The Bottom of the World  
(composite version)

LCM-2109

Not Licensed for Broadcast

2237814

EVATONE

BRIDGEVILLE, PA.



**DAVID RAKSIN**

Music for Films

COURTESY  
OF AMERICAN  
FEDERATION OF  
MUSICIANS

SIDE 2  
33 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>3</sub> RPM  
MONAURAL

"Carrie"

(Finale sequence, original version)

LCM-2110

Not Licensed for Broadcast

MADE IN USA BY 4223781B EVATONE DEERFIELD, ILL.







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# The Quarterly Journal

OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

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Frederick B. Mohr, *Editor*

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COVER: What's the Matter with Helen? (1971). *Main title, measures 13-16, composed by David Raksin. This example of the composer's manuscript shows the exact instrumentation, including the special placement of the solo alto saxophone during recording, the split-second timing necessary for perfect synchronization with the film, and the "klik-track" marked with x's on the cue line. The "clix" are worked out by the composer and played back in synchronization with the picture when the print is run during recording. The "clix," really metronomic tempo indications, are audible on earphones to the conductor and, sometimes, the performing musicians.*

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# Editor's Note

## On Printing, Editing, and the Sound of Silents

When Daniel Leeds, Student in Agriculture, completed his *Almanack for the Year of Christian Account 1687*, he took the manuscript to William Bradford, who, "after great Charge and Trouble," had in 1685 "brought that great Art and Mystery of Printing" to Philadelphia. Leeds had decided to embellish his tables with some bits of philosophy in verse, and even Bradford, whose experience with Samuel Atkin's 1686 almanac had been, as Edwin Wolf informs us, far from pleasant, could find nothing offensive in such couplets as:

*No man is born unto himself alone,  
Who lives unto himself he lives to none.  
The blaze of Honour, Fortunes sweet Excess,  
Do undeserve the Name of Happiness.  
Place shews the man, and he whom honour mends  
He to a worthy generous Spirit tends.*

Bradford printed the almanac as a broadside and sold copies at his shop. Aware of the political and scientific hazards inherent in almanac production at the time, Leeds had also asked Bradford to set the following lines at the bottom of the sheet, as a concluding poetic apology for any subsequently discovered errors:

*Mend, modest Reader, what thou findst amiss,  
But let the Author know what fault it is.  
All men have err'd since Adam first transgressed.  
If I commit no Faults I'm one o' th' best.  
But here my Comfort is, though I offend,  
I to my Faults can quickly put an END.*

One hundred years later Robert Yates, who together with John Lansing represented New York at the Constitutional Convention, made extensive notes on the proceedings in Philadelphia. Lansing copied Yates's notes for his own use. Edmond Genet later acquired the Lansing copy and, being anything but a modest Reader, apparently spent a great deal of time mending what he considered to be amiss. James Hutson's recent discovery establishes that a worthy generous Spirit was not one of Genet's editorial virtues.

A century after Yates prepared his written record of the convention, Thomas A. Edison set out to develop "something that would do for the eye what the phonograph did for the ear." His plan was "to synchronize the camera and the phonograph so as to record sounds when the pictures were made, and

reproduce the two in harmony." He envisioned that, among other applications, "such a dual arrangement might record both the lives and the voices of the great men and women of the world." Sound motion pictures of the gathering in Philadelphia a hundred years earlier would indeed have provided a superb record—unless there had been a Citizen Genet in the cutting room.

In the 1964 edition of *Understanding Media* Marshall McLuhan, who without realizing it (printing being a unidirectional medium) had the previous year inspired—or provoked—Elizabeth Eisenstein's research into the historical consequences of printing, remarked that "it was the detailed realism of writers like Dickens that inspired movie pioneers like D. W. Griffith, who carried a copy of a Dickens novel on location." In his diary entry for July 12, 1885, Edison had commented: "Don't like Dickens—don't know why. I'll stock my literary cellar with his works later." For McLuhan, the movie "offers as product the most magical of consumer commodities, namely dreams. . . . In the 1920s the American way of life was exported to the entire world in cans." Edison, who was primarily interested in the educational possibilities of the motion picture, noted in 1925 that "when the industry began to specialize as a big amusement proposition I quit the game as an active producer."

"Talkies," according to McLuhan, "were a further completion of the visual package as a mere consumer commodity. For with silent film we automatically provide sound for ourselves by way of 'closure' or completion. And when it is filled in for us there is very much less participation in the work of the image." Edison had from the very start conceived of the motion picture as a visual package if not a consumer commodity. Few silents were silently presented, but the simultaneously recorded voices envisioned by Edison in 1887 were for many years not part of the package.

When the motion picture did begin to talk, the aural focus shifted away from the original sound of movies—music. Jon Newsom now provides some new perspectives on film music, and the reader is offered an opportunity to explore David Raksin's compositions through an appropriately hot medium—Edison's phonograph—without synchronized audiovisual distractions.

FM



# DAVID RAKSIN

## A Composer in Hollywood

by Jon Newsom

Before the age of talking pictures, continuous music played by large orchestras, theater organs, or pianos accompanied the so-called silent films. It is thus possible to view the advent of the synchronous sound track as marking the beginning of an era in which movie music has become increasingly

subordinate to dialogue and sound effects. To be sure, the end of the musical silent era was not universally applauded, even by nonmusicians. D. W. Griffith, for example, was unwilling or unable to adapt his cinematic technique to sound films, believing that only music—and he had strong ideas, for better or for worse, about what was appropriate—should accompany his celluloid dramas. And there were others, besides those unhappy actors and actresses who could not perform speaking parts, who approached (or retreated from) the possibilities of sound with distrust or hostility. Among the skeptics were two comedians, Charlie Chaplin, who

*David Raksin at work on The Unicorn in the Garden in his studio in a corner of the barn on his farm in Northridge, California. Some of his most important work, including the scores for Laura, Force of Evil, Forever Amber, Carrie, and The Bad and the Beautiful, was done there.*

*While continuing to compose and conduct, Raksin has served as president of the Composers and Lyricists Guild of America, does a weekly radio program on music, and teaches extensively. Besides giving courses in composition at USC and UCLA, he conducts a seminar on various aspects of urban culture, planning, and development in the Center for Urban Affairs at USC, which, when mentioned, as Raksin says, "never fails to get the kind of reaction that encourages me to provoke it."*

Jon Newsom, assistant chief of the Music Division, is currently working on the archives of film music in the Library of Congress. He has specialized in nineteenth-century popular music, researching and annotating recordings of early American band music and the songs of Stephen Foster and Henry Clay Work. His articles for various anthologies and periodicals have ranged in subject from improvisational jazz to the music of Hans Pfitzner.



continued to give music the leading voice in his pictures (e.g., *Modern Times*), and Stan Laurel, who did not have Chaplin's musical sensibilities but made many classic two reelers that integrated sound with sight gags, thereby adapting successfully, if reluctantly, to the new genre.

In spite of a few early sound era experiments which omitted music entirely for the sake of realism—the popular 1929 version of *The Virginian* with Gary Cooper comes to mind—sound films brought to Hollywood a kind of music making that is perhaps one of the most important and neglected phenomena in the history of American music. The quality of the music and its performance became film-making components for which the producers would have complete responsibility; and if they accepted this responsibility and worked well with their musicians, the dramatic timing of the scores could make a crucial contribution to the effectiveness of their films. That outstanding composers and performing artists were attracted to Hollywood indicates that the value of their contribution was appreciated, if not always well understood. Although some of their best work was discarded, mutilated, or wedded to films not equal to the quality of their scores, much of it was well used.

Therefore, it must be emphasized that our selections from David Raksin's work, some of it cut from the final films for which it was written, were not made to demonstrate the insensitivity of film makers to good music. These examples from *Force of Evil* (1948), *Carrie* (1952), *Separate Tables* (1958), and *The Redeemer* (1966)<sup>1</sup> simply represent some of Raksin's best pieces that are not available on records and which show how one of Hollywood's best composers has solved, or attempted to solve, some of the problems of scoring films.

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Two seven-inch discs that contain the four musical examples for this essay will be found in the single sleeve bound at the front of this issue of the *Quarterly Journal*. These long-playing microgroove records can be played on any standard phonograph; however, for best results it may be necessary to place a regular phonograph record on the turntable mat to give rigid support to the small flexible discs. If they slip, the discs may be more firmly secured by placing a coin or other small weight on the label. Replacements for damaged or defective records may be ordered from the Recorded Sound Section, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540.

David Raksin's score for the Otto Preminger film *Laura*, released in 1944, launched both a remarkable song and its creator's career as a recognized and sought-after composer. Raksin was already known in the music business as an outstanding professional, having worked in New York and Hollywood with Robert Russell Bennett, Alfred Newman, and Leopold Stokowski, among others. In Hollywood he had studied composition with Arnold Schoenberg and had done a variety of film work—from assisting Charlie Chaplin with the arrangements and orchestrations for *Modern Times* to writing original motion-picture music. Always articulate and outspoken, his success with the film score and song "Laura" earned him a measure of respect that enabled him to work—and talk—as a composer in his own right. In spite of the fact that he has often had to maintain his integrity by taking stubbornly independent positions not calculated to ingratiate him with producers and directors, he has worked on more than one hundred films, including partial scores for some and the complete scores for about sixty features, and several hundred television programs—from dramatic series to documentaries.

Raksin neither preaches nor practices any theory of composing either pure or dramatic music. "I'm all too aware," he has said, "that there's hardly an idea or a concept in this world that doesn't have an opposite pole which may be an equally viable alternative."<sup>2</sup>

As for those whose disdain for movie music precludes their having any theories about it at all (except that it must be bad), it is Raksin's own music rather than his verbal eloquence—and he can be a virtuoso of the brutal epigram in defense of his art—which is the most effective response to their dismissing the validity of film music on the grounds that it is composed to order under pressure and restricted by the split-second timings imposed by visual, spoken, or other cues. While maintaining a high level of craftsmanship and applying the principle that film music must serve the picture's dramatic purpose, Raksin has still been able to write music that can stand on its own. And, while the recorded excerpts which accompany this essay are intended to illustrate his dramatic ability, they can and should also be listened to for their intrinsic value as music, without reference to the films for which they were conceived.





Charlie Chaplin, Gertrude and Arnold Schoenberg, and David Raksin at the studio on LaBrea near Sunset Boulevard, 1935. Raksin's first job in Hollywood was to assist Chaplin with the score for *Modern Times*. He also became a student of Schoenberg's.

## *Force of Evil*

*Force of Evil* opened on Christmas Day, 1948. There was nothing seasonal in its message; the allusions to Christ that one critic has since found in this terse, seventy-eight-minute film about crime and capitalism—and it is the kind of film that invites rumination on its various levels of meaning—refer to the Passion rather than the Nativity.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, even the suggested possibility of salvation—at the close the protagonist, played by John Garfield, decides to leave the rackets and aid the police—was, according to its scriptwriter and director Abraham Polonsky, “partly a cop-out”<sup>4</sup> in order to get the censor’s seal of approval on a film that reflected some controversial radical views. For his cop-out Polonsky got the seal, but eventually he and Garfield were blacklisted, their alleged political associations having made them targets of the House Un-American Activities Committee, which had been investigating the motion-picture industry since 1947. Garfield, closely followed by the press as his testimony before HUAC was being scrutinized, never lived to suffer the consequences of his predicament. He died in 1952 of a heart attack at the age of thirty-nine. Polonsky, after his first attempt at directing in *Force of Evil*, made no films again until 1969. He was, however, well employed rewriting others’ screenplays.

The story, based on Ira Wolfert’s novel *Tucker’s People* (1943), is set in New York City and concerns two slum-raised brothers involved in the numbers racket. Joe Morse (Garfield), the ambitious and successful younger brother, is a lawyer with a Wall Street office, but only through the sacrifices of his brother Leo (Thomas Gomez), who put him through school. Paunchy, short-winded, sporadically clutching at his bad heart, Leo loudly but ineffectively resists Joe’s efforts to set him up “with an office in Wall Street up in the clouds.” Joe has a scheme—conceived partly in self-interest and partly out of the wish to repay his brother—to make his racketeer client, Ben Tucker, the exclusive boss in the so-called policy business, with Leo’s “bank” as the only bookkeeping operation. He also plans to make the racket respectable by getting it legalized “like bingo and bango and the Irish sweepstakes.” His success, won by a series of competently executed nonviolent (and thus respectable) acts, raises Leo to the desired level of underworld power. But a tough,

unseen, special prosecutor, Hall, and a gangland rival of Tucker’s, Ficco, move in from both sides and precipitate a series of betrayals. Leo, in his new prominence, is an easy target. Ficco’s gang kidnaps and murders Leo and then dumps his body at the foot of the George Washington Bridge. Joe has learned of the murder and, in the last sequence, runs down to the river to find his brother’s body. His remorseful narration is heard as the camera follows him “down to the bottom of the world,” but his last words, “I decided to help,” do not offer a convincing resolution to a film whose point is the representation of a society so corrupt that legitimate business is no better than organized crime. The cynicism is only mitigated by Joe’s genuinely affectionate relationship with Leo’s secretary, Doris Lowry (Beatrice Pearson). Their love sets them apart from those whose lust, greed, and fear are shown as symptoms of the dehumanizing effects of capitalism. Polonsky reinforces the message of his drama through George Barnes’s brilliantly photographed cityscapes of Manhattan. The awesome, cold, and oppressive architectural settings diminish people and evoke the sterile grandeur of Fascist monuments. Trinity Church is an anachronism on Wall Street, its bristling spire dwarfed by the towering offices of men whose lives are dedicated to the evil whose power the film explores.

Polonsky himself considers the film a failure. Certainly its message did not reach the large audience he intended it for. Nevertheless, it has earned a considerable reputation for the originality and effectiveness of many of its elements, including much of the dialogue, the casting and directing, the photography, and, not least, the exceptional dramatic score composed by David Raksin.

Raksin recalls Polonsky as “a tough guy from New York” who made it clear that he wanted no

*A page from Raksin’s manuscript short score for Force of Evil. This is the original version of the sequence that begins side 1 of the enclosed record, “First Kiss,” when the film was still entitled Tucker’s People (hence the “T. P.” in the upper left-hand corner). These scores, referred to as “sketches,” are often, in Raksin’s case as with some of his colleagues, complete in every detail and can be given directly to copyists to make the orchestral parts.*

"TP"

(4)

VI - 2

(X) (1:56  $\frac{1}{2}$ )

25 26 27 28

End of kiss  
2:02 (black) (the temporary) absence of dialog  
a little faster

Flute  
Saxophone  
Clarinet  
Bassoon  
Piano

(X) (2:10)

29 30 31 32

a shade brighter (lighter in feeling)  
(Rust)

2:16  $\frac{1}{2}$  2:21  $\frac{1}{2}$

Flute  
Saxophone  
Clarinet  
Bassoon  
Piano

2:26 2:30 2:34 2:38 2:42 2:46 2:50 2:54 2:58 3:02 3:06 3:10 3:14 3:18 3:22 3:26 3:30 3:34 3:38 3:42 3:46 3:50 3:54 3:58 4:02 4:06 4:10 4:14 4:18 4:22 4:26 4:30 4:34 4:38 4:42 4:46 4:50 4:54 4:58 5:02 5:06 5:10 5:14 5:18 5:22 5:26 5:30 5:34 5:38 5:42 5:46 5:50 5:54 5:58 6:02 6:06 6:10 6:14 6:18 6:22 6:26 6:30 6:34 6:38 6:42 6:46 6:50 6:54 6:58 7:02 7:06 7:10 7:14 7:18 7:22 7:26 7:30 7:34 7:38 7:42 7:46 7:50 7:54 7:58 8:02 8:06 8:10 8:14 8:18 8:22 8:26 8:30 8:34 8:38 8:42 8:46 8:50 8:54 8:58 9:02 9:06 9:10 9:14 9:18 9:22 9:26 9:30 9:34 9:38 9:42 9:46 9:50 9:54 9:58 10:02 10:06 10:10 10:14 10:18 10:22 10:26 10:30 10:34 10:38 10:42 10:46 10:50 10:54 10:58 11:02 11:06 11:10 11:14 11:18 11:22 11:26 11:30 11:34 11:38 11:42 11:46 11:50 11:54 11:58 12:02 12:06 12:10 12:14 12:18 12:22 12:26 12:30 12:34 12:38 12:42 12:46 12:50 12:54 12:58 13:02 13:06 13:10 13:14 13:18 13:22 13:26 13:30 13:34 13:38 13:42 13:46 13:50 13:54 13:58 14:02 14:06 14:10 14:14 14:18 14:22 14:26 14:30 14:34 14:38 14:42 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conventional score but something "that's got power and dimension . . . like *Wozzeck*."<sup>5</sup> Surprised and impressed to hear such adventurous and sophisticated ideas about film music from a director—and to hear him correctly pronounce the title of Alban Berg's then still avant-garde opera ("he didn't say 'Wah-zek' you know"),<sup>6</sup> Raksin invited Polonsky and his wife to his home to talk about the score. The guests arrived and a recording chosen for the occasion was played during drinks. "And after a while," Raksin remembers, "Abe turned to me with an annoyed look and said: 'What's that crap you've got on the phonograph?' I said: 'Abe, that's *Wozzeck*.'" <sup>7</sup>

Notwithstanding this inauspicious start, Raksin was free to compose a complex and unconventional score that is one of his best both as dramatic and as pure music. Some of it, specifically the portion beginning with the alto saxophone solo heard prominently in the final sequence, "The Bottom of the World" (side 1 of the discs), was reworked from an earlier piece that had its origins in a composition that Raksin abandoned during his studies with Arnold Schoenberg and then used in 1940 in his first documentary, *Storm Warning* (not to be confused with the feature film of the same title). "I remember," said Raksin during one of a series of recent interviews, "one time I was working on this piece which was full of youthful passion and you name it. [Schoenberg] looked at me rather quizzically. . . . I'd gotten into a very complex thing. And he said: 'Don't you think this is getting a little bit complicated?' And I thought to myself: 'My God! if the master of complexity thinks this is complicated, it's got to be ridiculous.' So I dropped the project."<sup>8</sup>

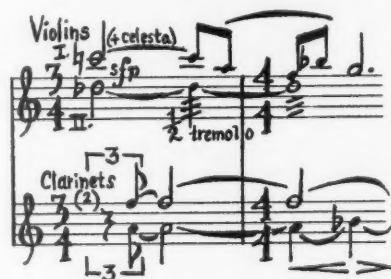
Regarding this same music, Raksin once wrote to Harold Spivacke, former chief of the Library's Music Division: "Some day it might be worthwhile to examine that property of music, more than ambiguity, which leads some of us to believe that the same piece may be construed as having more than one evocative aspect, depending perhaps upon juxtaposition—perhaps in the same way in which color appears to change by proximity."<sup>9</sup> At the present author's request, Raksin later amplified his statement:

As to the saxophone melody, it did indeed migrate from the piece I was writing while I was with Schoenberg (with a stopover in the score of *Storm Warning*) into *Force of Evil*. In that early concert piece, it was probably a bit of

very earnest yearning to be recognized for the loving young person I then thought myself! When I got to *Storm Warning*, which was a documentary about the weather forecasting service by Paul Burnford, it seemed to fall naturally into shots of the waiting sky. And in *Force of Evil* it once again signifies aspiration. (In all of which we must remember that the limitations of words are never more evident than when they are trying to reduce the eloquence and the ambiguities of music to program notes!) <sup>10</sup>

The music for the "First Kiss" and closing "Bottom of the World" scenes (side 1) is from the original recordings. These longer versions were intended for the film when it was still entitled *Tucker's People* and before it was cut down to its present length.

"First Kiss" is, as the title indicates, essentially a love scene between Joe and Doris. In the final editing, the score for the scene begins as Joe and Doris are seen walking through the park by Trinity Church. Joe's narration is heard over Raksin's music. Having just left his office, where he has learned that Hall is tapping his phone, Joe remembers that he has left Doris waiting for him outside and has gone out to her: "I had forgotten Doris for a moment, and then I was glad she was there waiting. She was someone to talk to. . . . She kept watching me, wondering what had happened there in that office of mine. I think she had made up her mind to fall in love with me." They go to her apartment for coffee, and it is at this point that Raksin's original version for "First Kiss" begins. The score, marked "*Slowly* ('Nocturne')," begins with a motif played by strings:



© 1978, David Raksin

The above is a variant of the motif first heard at the beginning of the main title and which appears again in its original form at the end of the film in "The Bottom of the World" (at the top of p. 149).





Raksin's solution is as dramatic in effect as it is simple in conception. He employs a device similar to one that has been used in various ways by many composers, most notably by Wagner in the famous beginning of *Das Rheingold* where a prolonged dominant harmonization of an arpeggiated motif suggesting the undulating waters of the Rhine resolves suddenly on the tonic at the appearance of the Rheinmaidens. Raksin wrote an extended passage over a pedal-tone on A lasting some thirty seconds in the original sequence, building great tension which is resolved, without any crescendo that would drown out the narrative, at the appearance in D

of the elegaic theme just as the camera completes its pan revealing the tremendous arch of the bridge. The use of a tonal effect in the context of a predominantly nontonal score makes the dominant-to-tonic resolution all the more forceful.

It should also be mentioned that while Polonsky's ending suggests a resolution. Raksin concludes with an ambiguous cadence in which a C-sharp major triad is superimposed over the final B major chord. The final version is transposed, but the dissonant, polytonal effect is the same. Raksin's musical discord is a gesture of considerable musical-dramatic significance.

### *Force of Evil*

#### "The Bottom of the World"

(record side 1, beginning with alto saxophone solo at 3:04)

Motion picture © 1948, Roberts Productions;  
renewal assigned 1976,  
National Telefilm Associates, New York.  
Music © 1978, David Raksin.



dissolve to  
Joe and Doris running

0:00

1				
Narration (Joe):	"Doris was waiting for me downstairs. And we left before the police came...."	"I wanted to find Leo, to see him once more...."	"It was morning by then, dawn. Naturally I was feeling very bad there..."	"and I went down there...."
<i>Slowly</i>				
Alto Sax	<i>p</i>	<i>mf</i> = <i>mp</i>		<i>f</i>



long wall shot, Joe running down

**0:21**

"I just kept going down and down there. It was like going down..." 6

"to the bottom of the world—

"to find my brother."

(Narration continues at m. 34)

Handwritten musical score for the first section. The score is in 4/4 time and features two staves. The top staff is for Saxophone (Sax) and Flute (2 Fl.) with a dynamic marking of *mf*. The bottom staff is for Clarinet (Clars.) with a dynamic marking of *mf*. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like *mf* and *mp*.



first shot of bridge as Joe climbs fence

**0:37**

(measures 13-17 cut in final version to two measures)

Handwritten musical score for the second section. The score is in 4/4 time and features two staves. The top staff is for Violins and Trumpets (Vlns. + Trpt.) with a dynamic marking of *mf*. The bottom staff is for Woodwinds (W.W.) and Percussion (Perc.). The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like *mf*, *f*, *pp*, and *out*.

15

1:01

Fls + Cls

Hns

Vlns. I

Vlns. II + Cl.

Picc. + Glck.

8va

Trpt

Vla, EH + A.S.

Vcl, Vla + Trb.

Vcl + Bsn

Tbns

2 Bsns.

Tuba



tremendous shot under  
George Washington Bridge

19

1:07

Fl. #

mf

Vlns. I

Vlns. II

subito p

F.W.W.

Hns.

(Hns)



23 1:30



27 1:46

(measures 30-31 cut in final version)

WW, Str.

Brass

Picc. + 2 Fl.

Bva. mfz

Vla., Vcl., + Bsns

Trb.

B.C.I. (or)

Bassi pizz



### Joe's second big reaction to Leo's body

The musical score is divided into three systems, each spanning two measures.

- System 1:** The first measure contains vocal parts for Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B). The second measure features a Narration part for Joe Raposo, with lyrics "I found my brother's body at the bottom there...".
- System 2:** This system continues the vocal parts and includes instrumental entries for Clarinet (Cl.), Oboe (Ob.), Bassoon (Bs.), Trumpet (Trpt.), Trombone (Tbn.), and Tuba (Tub.). It also includes a section for Strings.
- System 3:** This system concludes the piece with final vocal notes and instrumental accompaniment, including a section for Percussion (Perc.) with Timpani (Timp.) and Cymbal (Cym.).

The score is written in G major and 4/4 time. It includes various musical notations such as clefs, key signatures, time signatures, and dynamic markings like *pizz*, *liba*, *imp*, *fz*, *mf*, and *mp*.

cut to Doris

35

"like an old dirty rag nobody wanted. He was dead. And I felt I had killed him."

2:14

(measures 38-55 cut in final version)

Ob.  
Cl.  
E♭  
Cl.  
Bsn  
B♭ Cl.  
Bsn.

40 2:24

Joe's voice (screaming):  
"Take the dead man away!"

Normal voice:  
"Take the dead man away."

12 Fl. + picc.  
Ob.  
Cl.  
EH  
Cl.  
Str.  
pp  
Harp. harm.  
Hms  
pp  
Cb

ff  
Str. trem.  
Trpt. muted  
Trb. muted  
mf  
dim.

dissolve to courtroom; Joe & D. A.

45 2:45

Harp. harm. +  
VI. harm.  
--mp  
p  
(Vcl.)  
1pp  
mf

50 3:09

Vcl. +  
Bsn.  
p  
Bsn. only  
Vcl. out



58 **3:35**

**Narration (Joe):**  
"I turned back to give myself up to Hall..."

"because if a man's life can be lived so long and come out this way—like rubbish..."

"then something was horrible and had to be ended one way or another..."

"and I decided to help."

*tutti cresc. gradually*

*mp*

62 **3:55**

2 Cl. + Ob.  
+ Xyl. + Pfte

Str. + Fl.

+ pice  
Bw.

Hrn

WW + trpt

Brass

Cymb.

WW

+ Fl.

+ Vcl.

+ Timp.

+ Piani

## *Carrie*

For its time, *Force of Evil* had an innovative score appropriate to the picture's violent subject and essentially dark outlook. *Carrie* was about a tragic romance and called for a quite different kind of musical treatment.

Theodore Dreiser's first book, *Sister Carrie* (1900), was the basis for William Wyler's film *Carrie*, released in July 1952. This film is not to be confused with Brian de Palma's recent shocker of the same name, with which it bears only a little less resemblance in purpose and effect than it does with Dreiser's novel. From that disturbing story of success, failure, and the seamy side of life in the big city, Wyler extracted the outline of a plot and the characters' names, turning Dreiser's ruthless heroine, Carrie, whose casual immorality and self-centered ambition appalled many turn-of-the-century readers, into a sensitive but naive woman only slightly less pathetic than the man, George Hurstwood, whose life she inadvertently ruins.

Yet it was Wyler's *Carrie*, not Dreiser's, that moved Raksin to compose perhaps his warmest and most powerfully sentimental score. A brief account of the screenplay will provide points of reference for the discussion of the musical excerpt from the film's original final sequence which is heard on side 2 of the recording.

Carrie (Jennifer Jones), one of a large family living in the country outside Chicago, is sent to find work in the city, where she is to live in a dreary flat with her older sister and brother-in-law. On the train, she encounters a traveling salesman, Charlie Drouet (Eddie Albert), who impresses her with glamorous accounts of city life. She accepts his card and eventually, after losing her job as a

factory worker, also accepts his personal favors. In spite of her sister's warnings, and under the impression that Drouet intends to marry her, she goes to live with him. One day he introduces her to an impressive friend, George Hurstwood (Laurence Olivier), the manager of Fitzgerald's, a fashionable dining club. His dashing appearance and manners, the superficial marks of his occupation, conceal the frustration of his domestic life, which is dominated by a cold, socially ambitious wife. After his introduction to Carrie, Hurstwood's life, through a series of tragic blunders, progresses from a passionate courtship to suicide in a flophouse. Raksin wrote: "Where Dreiser had pitied the man destroyed by his need for love, Wyler had suffused him with the sympathy a man of today might feel for a brother condemned by the rigid morality of an earlier day."<sup>14</sup> But that more rigid morality is only partly responsible for Hurstwood's fall. Through what could be regarded as a planned accident—though the circumstances are ambiguous in both Dreiser's and Wyler's versions—Hurstwood finds himself one night holding \$10,000 that he intends to deposit in Fitzgerald's safe. Its door is open, as usual, with the time lock set. And Hurstwood is, as usual, about to close up the club. But he longs to run away with Carrie and his mind, clouded by a few drinks, is wandering in dangerous directions perhaps clearer to us, the observers of his emotional state, than they are to himself. Accidentally, he drops the money and, as he turns angrily to pick it up, knocks the safe door shut. He pockets the money. We then cut to Fitzgerald who is arranging with Mrs. Hurstwood to withhold her wayward husband's salary until he gives up his affair with Carrie. Hurstwood



returns home in the midst of their conference and, confronted with this plan, decides to escape with Carrie and the money.

His ultimate downfall is precipitated by his inability to understand or anticipate the reactions of those around him. Consequently, he repeatedly withholds the truth from Carrie—that he is married and has stolen money—though she loves and trusts him, but naively expects generous treatment from those who do not, such as his wife and Fitzgerald. Having already avoided telling Carrie that he is married, he inadvertently lies to her after she learns it by telling her that he will be free, though he should have realized his wife would not divorce him. He also does not tell Carrie of the theft (wishfully thinking that Fitzgerald will accept his IOU for the sum and regard it as a loan), nor does he explain to her that he will be unable to find employment and reestablish himself in business because his theft—he returns the money to avoid prosecution—has become a public scandal. They move from a luxurious hotel to a poor tenement. Carrie gradually realizes that she must make her own way and begins what will become a successful career in the theater. Finally, unaware of the cause of Hurstwood's failure, she abandons him while he is on a trip to New York, thinking he has resolved to live with his prosperous son. But, unable to beg for assistance, he returns alone to the empty flat and finds Carrie's farewell note. Months later, by the time she discovers the reason for his failure, he has disappeared.

Their final reunion, in its uncut form, was by Raksin's account a powerful, six-minute sequence in which the destitute Hurstwood visits Carrie at the theater, ostensibly for a handout but in fact to see her once more before he dies. For this encounter, Raksin wrote music which was virtually uninterrupted by dialogue and which accompanied a series of scenes that explicitly portray the extent of Hurstwood's degradation and end with his suicide much as Dreiser's original does:

It seemed as if he thought a while, for now he arose and turned the gas out, standing calmly in the blackness, hidden from view. After a few moments, in which he reviewed nothing, but merely hesitated, he turned the gas on again, but applied no match. Even then he stood there, hidden wholly in that kindness which is night, while the uprising fumes filled the room. When the odour reached his nostrils, he quit his attitude and fumbled for the bed.

"What's the use?" he said, weakly, as he stretched himself to rest.<sup>15</sup>

Raksin has mixed feelings when recalling the experience of composing the score for this film. In a recent interview with fellow film composer Elmer Bernstein, he spoke of his music for the last sequence:

I knew that Willie Wyler, the director, was going to shorten it; so, since we were working on an impossible time schedule, I asked him to spare me the necessity of composing more music than we would actually use. He said he couldn't cut the sequence until he saw it with the music. So I wrote the sequence—it inspired some of the best music I have ever composed—and there was joy all over the place. Then they cut the sequence down to something like 56 seconds and with that they destroyed the music. I was away, trying to recuperate, when they made the final cuts, and they did not permit me to assist with the editing of the music track. Now that's stupid and corrupt; it no longer aches in my innards, but I do feel that a profession in which the integrity of one's art can be altered or ruined by people who are not even competent to judge a nausea contest is open to question.<sup>16</sup>

Years earlier, in his article on *Carrie*, originally published in the *New York Times* and reprinted in *Film Music Notes*, Raksin's anger was tempered with an expression of the real fondness he felt toward the picture and his music:

It was my hope that the music of *CARRIE* would bear the same relationship to the story that existed between the story and music of some of the wonderful silent movies for which my father conducted the orchestra at the old Metropolitan in Philadelphia. What a warmth there was between the screen and score in those days, when "heart-songs," *Kinothek* music, and sometimes excerpts of masterpieces followed hard upon one another! The Saturday matinees when I sat in the orchestra pit and responded like a seismograph to the heavings of the Gish sisters had made a deep impression on my young mind, and somehow I now felt that in *CARRIE* Willie Wyler had made just such a fable as those I had loved. We agreed that the score should have this "Chromo" flavor where feasible. . . .

And now, seeing the film, and hearing the score (which I finished in February of 1951), in a projection room in June, 1952, I was moved by it, and I was, after all, glad to have composed the music of *CARRIE*.<sup>17</sup>

In listening to the music, it would be pointless to attempt to follow it scene by scene according to the original film with which it was so carefully synchronized. These six minutes of film are lost, but the music stands on its own. For a guide, these examples show the origins and associations of the music in these final six minutes, which introduce no new thematic material but recapitulate and vary ideas established earlier.

The principal theme, one of Raksin's long lyrical lines characterized by leaps of wide intervals, appears in many forms. It is heard nearly completely and in its primary major-mode version at the very end when Hurstwood lies dying. Of its associations, Raksin wrote: "The musical material and its de-

velopment are concerned with expressing the great longing of Hurstwood. . . . In the sequence of their first embrace, in the carriage, the music is part of the physical passion, and later reaches out after Carrie as she walks quickly away from Hurstwood."<sup>18</sup>

The musical score is presented in two systems, each containing four measures. The notation is for three staves: Treble, Bass, and Bass. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The music is characterized by wide intervals and a lyrical quality. Dynamics include *pp*, *cresc poco*, and *mp*. The score is divided into two systems, each with four measures. The first system includes a *p* (piano) marking at the end. The second system includes a *3* (triple) marking over a group of notes.

A variant of this principal theme in B minor over a syncopated accompaniment begins at about 1:17 on the disc. In this passage, beginning at about 1:28, there is a change in the accompaniment about which Raksin writes:

Something happens that may be interesting to note: during the section I have just described we have been looking at Carrie as she frantically searches for Hurstwood, and at . . . [1:28] we dissolve to George. It is one of those sudden moves from fast-paced action to a static scene which is often the bane of film composers' lives; tension cannot be dropped too far, nor can the fast

pace be maintained. The solution was to continue the theme in the same tempo, *poco meno*, but to change the accompaniment.<sup>19</sup>

The listener will hear a sudden shift from the off-beat syncopation to a straight rhythmic accompaniment on the beat. This frantic variant appears first in the sequence entitled "The Die Is Cast," where Hurstwood, not Carrie, is seen running with the stolen money to find Carrie after he has decided to run away with her. "I think of it," writes Raksin, "as a kind of distraught (Verdi) aria."<sup>20</sup>

5

mf Violins

f

Ob., 2 Cls.

dissolve to George

3/2



Yet another version of the theme begins at about 3:11 on the disc. This false three-part canon—a “trio in four parts” as Raksin has facetiously penciled in the score—is a remarkably nontonal piece

of Schoenbergian counterpoint that sounds particularly anguished in context. The above variant is heard in augmentation under a free fugal treatment of the “Carrie” motif.

Variant of "Carrie"  
theme (see Ex. 6)  
becomes  
bass:

Two more points involving other important motifs are noteworthy. At about 4:25, after a crescendo climaxing on a held C-flat major seventh chord following the above-mentioned canon, there is a brief pause. "Light goes out" reads the cue line in the score. Then a solo French horn begins a motif originally played by a solo bassoon when Hurstwood,

having just begun his brief, idyllic honeymoon with Carrie, is brought rudely to his senses. A knock on their hotel room door takes Hurstwood into the outer hall for a brief encounter with a man who informs him, to the accompaniment of this ominous tune, that he wants either Hurstwood or the stolen money.



© 1978, David Raksin

At the end of the film, Raksin piles up three motifs, the principal Carrie tune, another closely related sighing theme heard often (it opens the

finale, played by strings under a plaintive horn solo), and the short, fanfarelike idea that Raksin refers to as "a kind of 'tragic fate' item."<sup>21</sup>

© 1978, David Raksin

If the last minutes of *Carrie*, before final editing and loss of the original film, contained some of Raksin's best music, portions of that music remain in earlier parts of the film and so survive in their

dramatic context. However, Raksin's score for *Separate Tables* contained a remarkable musical sequence whose essential thematic materials were discarded altogether from the film.

## *Separate Tables*

Terence Rattigan's *Separate Tables*, on which the film released in December 1958 is based, was first produced in London in 1954. It consisted of two interrelated plays on whose rewriting for the screen Rattigan collaborated with John Gay, combining the separate plots that concern the troubled lives of some misfits thrown together in a small English hotel near Bournemouth. And so, while the play's separate plots are interconnected in the film, the dialogue from the two plays remains substantially intact. The musical examples and our discussion are limited to one scene from the film which involves only two of the principal characters.

John Malcolm (Burt Lancaster) and Ann Shankland (Rita Hayworth) are a very complicated, mismatched couple, divorced but still the victims of a strong mutual attraction they cannot overcome despite their incompatibility. John, from a large, working-class Pennsylvania mining-town family, had married Ann, a beautiful New York socialite. We see him as a rugged, fortyish, heavy-drinking loner who writes under a pseudonym for a left-wing paper and is having a not especially passionate affair with the hotel's manager (Wendy Hiller). When his ex-wife, Ann, makes her surprise appearance, we begin to learn of their stormy past relationship, which she intends to renew after eight years. The violent circumstances leading to their divorce—he had beaten her and consequently spent time in jail—are revealed during a confrontation between them on the hotel terrace during which Ann baits John into a rage which climaxes with his confessing that he still loves her.

For this scene, which lasted nearly ten minutes before final cutting, director Delbert Mann asked

Raksin, much to his surprise, for music. It was the beginning of an unhappy series of mishaps and conflicts involving Raksin, another composer (Harry Warren), the producers (Burt Lancaster, James Hill, and Harold Hecht), a musician whose diplomacy helped salvage at least some of Raksin's score (Herbert Spencer), and a cast of various technical and nontechnical people—from expert recording engineers to baffled and disgruntled exhibitors who hated the film at its disastrous preview.

At the heart of the problem were Raksin's and his producers' different interpretations of the terrace scene and the musical setting that would be appropriate to it. Musically, his producers knew, or thought they knew, what they wanted, and their apparent confidence had already been manifested in their acquisition, before Raksin's assignment, of a pretty tune by Harry Warren with words by Harold Adamson. Yet the song, a good piece by an outstanding popular songwriter, had been acquired primarily for promotional purposes without much regard for its relevance to a film whose crucial terrace scene Raksin has characterized as being "about terrible distress and unhappiness—and very hip for its time about the marital relationship."<sup>22</sup> So Raksin refused to use Warren's tune in his dramatic score, a condition his producers accepted but which angered Warren.

Composing the terrace music presented Raksin with the challenge of underscoring an intricate series of reversals in which John and Ann begin at odds and end up on the verge of reconciliation. Throughout, strong feelings of animosity and attraction combine to drive the pair to a passionate but agonizing reunion. The producers felt it only

needed the kind of music befitting a more or less conventional love scene and wanted correspondingly pretty music. Raksin did not. He had already written an interesting, sinuous, melodic line for the amorous side of John and Ann's relationship, a theme subtler and more sophisticated than War-

ren's much catchier straightforward tune. But he still thought it unsuitable for the antagonism of the first part of the couple's encounter. To provide the necessary music, he wrote an angular, nontonal, and rhythmically ambiguous nine-note subject which begins as a four-part free fugato.

**Brooding**

Violins I *mp*

Violas *mp cresc. poco*  
*sema vibrato*

*mf* gradually add vibrato

Cellos *mp*

© 1978, David Raksin

Since the first half of the scene deals with the couple's hostility, the nine-note subject dominates the musical setting. Composed for strings, it bears sufficient stylistic relationship to Schoenberg's *Verklärte Nacht* to have inspired Raksin's playful title, *Verkehrte* ("turned upside down") *Nacht*, a pun on Schoenberg's title and a commentary on the scene itself.

The latter part of the scene is measured from the turning point where Ann makes John lose his temper and admit he is drunk and enraged because of her—

such is the power she holds over him. "All this stored up venom and reserve disappears," says Raksin, "and then she's got him. There's a shot in which she looks at him and she's just like a cat. And things change after that."<sup>23</sup> For the second half of the scene, Raksin uses the romantic theme. But in both the first and last parts, elements of both themes appear; after the turning point, the opening subject is inverted (*Verkehrte*) or its opening four notes are heard contrapuntally in the accompaniment.

Because this music had to mix effectively with continuous dialogue, Raksin used a recording technique he had learned from Alfred Newman, the composer who had been Raksin's music director at Twentieth-Century Fox. Two separate, simulta-

neous recording tracks were made, one closely and the other more distantly miked, giving each track a distinctly different presence. By alternating or blending the close and distant tracks, an ideal balance could be maintained with the voice tracks. Un-

Anne: "You're the only person  
in the world that I've  
ever been really fond of."

© 1978, David Raksin

*Slow* cut to close angle on Anne

© 1978, David Raksin

fortunately, the mixer who worked on the recording of the sequence was not available for the final dubbing, which was done by a sound-effects man unfamiliar with the intricate procedures that had been worked out in recording the music. Consequently, the process of dubbing was a failure, and the failure was blamed on the music. After the preview, Raksin recalls being told: "You know, a lot of these exhibitors have said . . . that they think that this is the worst score ever written for a picture."<sup>24</sup> When Raksin was called on to account for

and amend his alleged incompetence by rewriting the sequence with Warren's theme song interpolated, he resigned from the picture, but not without seriously advising his producers to hire a musically trained ombudsman who could communicate with all parties to avoid further expensive mistakes or misunderstandings. A few weeks later Raksin received a call from a friend, Herbert Spencer, whom the producers had hired and who was impressed with the score. He persuaded Raksin that in order

to prevent the entire score—for which he eventually received an Academy Award nomination—from being thrown out, he must come back to rewrite the terrace sequence. Raksin complied, reluctantly. The final version does not use Warren's tune but is romantic throughout, retaining only a few virtually meaningless vestiges of the original nine-note subject.

Today, Raksin uses the sequence—before and after rescoring—in his classes on film music. On one

occasion, when he showed both versions without telling his students what the difference between the two was, one observer noted that the original version, with Raksin's *Verkehrte Nacht* music, seemed to be composed of more close-ups—although the film itself was identical in both versions shown—an interesting experience that suggests how strongly music, whether consciously heard or not, can affect one's perception of an emotional reaction to the film it accompanies.



David Raksin and John Cassavetes, who directed *Too Late Blues* for Paramount in 1961. The film called for jazz which had to work in synchronization with the picture. "How to cope with the problems of composing music to sound as if it were improvised could be the topic under discussion," notes Raksin.



## The Redeemer

The fourth and last of Raksin's scores to be discussed here is for a film that needs no synopsis. Entitled *The Redeemer*, it is about Christ's last days on earth. Produced in 1966 by the Family Theater, a Roman Catholic group, this feature was reconstructed from an unsuccessful fifteen-part television series in an attempt to recover some of the producers' financial losses. Unfortunately, the production was a commercial and, except for Raksin's score, artistic failure. It has been televised in this country but has not been shown in motion-picture theatres.

Raksin conceived his score as an homage to J. S. Bach. Without borrowing any of the baroque composer's material, except for a brief and almost hidden quotation from the *Chromatic Fantasy and Fugue* in the end title, and while sometimes writing counterpoint in a dissonant style that belongs very much to this century and not to the early eighteenth, Raksin has evoked the spirit of Bach's dramatic music by composing a score with a succession of long, lyrical melodic statements that are not developed as is, for example, the main theme from *Carrie*. In *The Redeemer*, themes are repeated with little variation at appropriate moments in the film and strung together by transitional bridges. "I tried to do things," Raksin says, "in the *arioso* style which, rather naively stated, is one tune after another."<sup>25</sup>

Moreover, notwithstanding the large orchestral forces employed, Raksin's instrumentation favors the solo players as did Bach's. Particularly important in achieving a sound suggestive of the baroque orchestra is the prominence of double-reed winds. Not only do we hear oboes, English horns, and bassoons, but the oboe d'amore, baritone oboe (for which there is a lovely solo at the beginning of disc side 4), heckelphon, and contrabassoon as well. Besides the double reeds, an alto flute is added to the flute section. There are no clarinets.

In writing the score for *The Redeemer* Raksin borrowed from his own earlier work, as he had done in the case of *Force of Evil*. It is especially interesting that the *Redeemer* main theme had its origin in a film produced by Howard Hughes, entitled *Vendetta*, and on which Raksin worked immediately before composing *Force of Evil*. Raksin recalls: "It was written for a kind of mysterious place, late at night, and it had a kind of odd, spaced-out quality about it."<sup>26</sup> Raksin's music was never used in that film, but what was to become the principal theme for *The Redeemer*—heard, for example, as Christ is seen bearing the cross and at the moment of his death—did appear as the theme of a documentary television series, CBS's *Tales of the Universe*. On the recording (side 4) the theme is repeated four times at the very end (5:45). Here is the way it works in close canonic imitation:



© 1978, David Raksin

In the course of editing the music for the enclosed record, Raksin and the present author tried a number of solutions to a difficult problem: the heart of the score, in the sequences beginning with "Crucify Him," as Pilate turns Christ over to the crowd, and concluding with Christ's last words on the Cross, "Father, into Thy hands I commend My spirit,"<sup>27</sup> consists of about twenty minutes of such impressive and essentially uncuttable music that, no matter how it is edited, it cannot be adequately represented within the limits of a seven-inch disc. We decided, therefore, to present a slightly abridged version of the last portion, which begins with "Mother, Behold

Thy Son,"<sup>28</sup> leads into "Why Hast Thou Forsaken Me?"<sup>29</sup> and concludes with "It is Finished."<sup>30</sup> It has been edited so that the chord which in the film precedes a grand pause at the cue "(lightning begins)" "Father, into Thy hands" now leads without interruption into an extended fourfold statement of the principal theme. These statements of the theme are taken from the beginning and end of the main title, in place of the short six-measure statement that occurs in the film.

On the record, the first melody heard is played by the baritone oboe and is associated with the Virgin Mary.

Baritone oboe *mp*

solo cello *f*

Cellos *mp*

Oboe d'amore *p*

Violas

Cellos/Basses

© 1978, David Raksin

The next music, imbued with a kind of stately benevolence, is associated with the Roman centurion

who accompanies Christ together with Joseph of Arimathea (0:53).<sup>31</sup>

*mf*



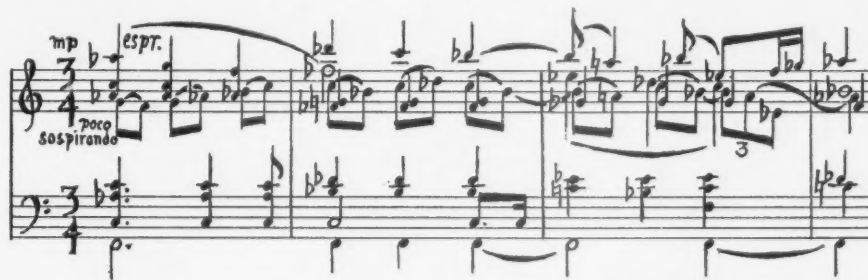


© 1978, David Raksin

At 2:30 two flutes, joined a few measures later by an alto flute, appear at the cue "You will not [break a bone of him],"<sup>32</sup> following which a solo cello underscores Christ's words, "My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?" (3:00).

As the camera cuts to the legionnaires, another principal theme with a sighing accompaniment by the strings is played, *poco sospirando* (3:16). In speaking of *The Redeemer*, Raksin made a general

comment which is particularly appropriate to this example: "I have never believed for one second that the diminished chord, which is supposed to be a discredited entity, is really out of it. All you have to do is hear what happens when Bach lands on it in a certain moment and you *feel* the wound."<sup>33</sup> This theme also reappears at 5:09 in a crescendo that leads to the climactic chord before Christ's death (5:41).



© 1978, David Raksin

At 3:41 Christ says, "I thirst";<sup>34</sup> we cut to a legionnaire (3:50) and then to the onlookers (4:04); and at 4:39, the music accompanies the legionnaire holding up the sponge of vinegar.<sup>35</sup>

The subsequent repeat of the above-mentioned *sospirando* motif at 5:09 and the introduction of the principal theme at 5:45 conclude the recorded

example. But it is worth noting that after the final repeat of the theme, there is a cadence that some will recall as being very similar to Raksin's ending for *Force of Evil*, certainly no coincidence. However, this similarity may only exist because the themes which appear at the end of our examples from *Force of Evil* and *The Redeemer* were con-

ceived at about the same time, around 1948, although the films in which they appeared were separated by nearly two decades.

We have examined portions of just four of more than a hundred of Raksin's film scores. These samples barely hint at the diversity of his work as a composer, which includes such varied items as the tachycardial theme for the television series *Ben*

*Casey*, with its asymmetrical rhythms; the UPA cartoon version of James Thurber's *Unicorn in the Garden*, introducing the then esoteric recorder at the appearance of the mythological protagonist; and Preminger's ambitious *Forever Amber*, which bored Raksin into insomniacal explorations of Pepys's *Diary* for the inspiration to compose what was eventually to become one of the best concert



David Raksin conducting the score for *Laura* in synchronization with the film. Clifton Webb and Dana Andrews are seen on the screen above the Vermont State Symphony Orchestra (July 3, 1972, Field House, Middlebury College). Courtesy of Erik Borg, Bristol, Vermont.



*David Raksin with Charlie Chaplin in the projection room of the Chaplin studio on LaBrea in 1952. Having just completed *Limelight*, Chaplin spent part of his last day in Hollywood reminiscing with Raksin, who recalls: "I start to remind Charlie of a practical joke I played on him when we were working on the music of *Modern Times*, in 1935. Charlie and I both break up over the nutty story." Courtesy of Francis O'Neill.*

pieces originating from film music. This diversity of styles, which would have been snubbed years ago by the critics of eclecticism, seems in the light of current musical developments to represent a model of consistency.

The frustration and anger that has characterized much of the art of our time has also produced the symptomatic nose-thumbing gesture of despair that Raksin recently referred to in speaking of "the generation of artists who proclaimed, 'No more masterpieces!' when, actually, they were never in danger of creating any."<sup>36</sup> But the despairing artists of whom Raksin speaks were rebelling against the overbearing pretentiousness of a Teutonic musical tradition by which he seems never to have felt threatened.

As for his own outlook, his recent recollections of his first impressions of Hollywood tell as much about the freshness of his attitude today as about his responses some forty years ago: "It was all so

glamorous to me—being on the recording stage and listening to those gorgeous orchestras playing away—I never gave two thoughts to the intrinsic worth of any of it. You were composing at night, and the next morning it was being played! . . . Unless you're a thoroughly negative person, that's got to impress you."<sup>37</sup>

Perhaps the greatest compliment paid to Hollywood's musicians was Aaron Copland's. In 1951, Raksin recalled him saying: "Sometimes in the middle of a concert of new works in New York, I say to myself: What's all the fuss about? The boys in Hollywood do this better every day in the week and think nothing of it."<sup>38</sup>

"Those were the days," Raksin wrote more recently, "and what is more, we knew it then, and enjoyed it, lived it to the hilt in our own ways, and did not have to wait until they were over to be told about it."<sup>39</sup>

## NOTES

1. For more extended examples, the reader is referred to Raksin's recent recording with the New Philharmonia Orchestra of London (RCA ARL 1-1490) in which he conducts three concert pieces that he arranged from his film scores for *Laura* (1944), *Forever Amber* (1947), and *The Bad and the Beautiful* (1952).
2. Elmer Bernstein, "A Conversation with David Raksin, Part 2," *Filmmusic Notebook* 2, no. 3 (1976): 13.
3. See Jack Shadoian, *Dreams and Dead Ends: The American Gangster/Crime Film* (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1977), pp. 143, 145-46.
4. Eric Sherman and Martin Rubin, *The Director's Event* (New York: Atheneum, 1970), p. 15.
5. "Interviews with David Raksin" (Yale University, School of Music, Oral History Project, conducted in co-operation with the American Film Institute, December 6, 1976-February 15, 1977).
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Raksin to Spivacke, December 11, 1968.
10. Raksin to Newsom, December 5, 1977.
11. Sherman and Rubin, *Director's Event*, p. 16.
12. "Interviews with David Raksin."
13. Ibid.
14. David Raksin, "Carrie," *Film Music Notes* 12 (September-October 1952): 13.
15. Theodore Dreiser, *Sister Carrie* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1970), p. 367.
16. Bernstein, "Conversation with David Raksin," p. 16.
17. Raksin, "Carrie," p. 14.
18. Raksin, "Carrie," p. 13.
19. Raksin to Newsom, December 5, 1977.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid.
22. "Interviews with David Raksin."
23. Ibid. It is important to note that the dramatic effect of the emergence of the "love" music out of the nine-note subject is necessarily weakened on the enclosed disc. Time restrictions required a cut that reduces the first section by more than two minutes, thus spoiling the balance between the two sections.
24. Ibid.
25. Roy M. Prendergast, *A Neglected Art: A Critical Study of Music in Films* (New York: New York University Press, 1977), p. 151.
26. "Interviews with David Raksin."
27. Luke 23:46.
28. John 19:26.
29. Matt. 27:46; Mark 15:34.
30. John 19:30.
31. Matt. 27:54; Mark 15:39; Luke 23:47.
32. John 19:36.
33. "Interviews with David Raksin."
34. John 19:28.
35. John 19:29; Mark 15:36.
36. Allan Ulrich, ed., *The Art of Film Music: A Tribute to California's Film Composers* (Oakland, California: Oakland Museum, 1976), p. 26.
37. Elmer Bernstein, "A Conversation with David Raksin," *Filmmusic Notebook* 2, no. 2 (1976): 20.
38. David Raksin, "A Hollywood Composer States Case for His Craft," *Film Music Notes* 10 (March-April 1951): 14.
39. Raksin to Waters, December 5, 1972.

# Robert Yates's Notes on the Constitutional Convention of 1787: *Citizen Genet's Edition*

by James H. Hutson

James Madison's notes, published posthumously in 1840, are the principal source of information about the Constitutional Convention of 1787. Historians agree that the source "next in importance" is Robert Yates's record of the proceedings.<sup>1</sup> Yates, a New York anti-Federalist, died in 1801. His notes, like Madison's, were published posthumously, in 1821, under the title *Secret Proceedings and Debates of the Convention Assembled at Philadelphia in the year 1787, for the Purpose of forming the Constitution of the United States, From Notes taken by the late Robert Yates, Esq. Chief Justice of New-York, and Copied by John Lansing, Jun. Esq. Late Chancellor of that State . . .*<sup>2</sup> Neither Yates's original notes nor John Lansing's copy has been found. Students of the Constitution have been compelled, therefore, to use the 1821 printing, despite charges by Madison, who read it soon after it was published, that it was, in places, inaccurate.<sup>3</sup> Two pages of Lansing's copy of Yates's notes (for July 5, 1787) have now been discovered in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. They demonstrate that, if anything, Madison underestimated the unreliability of the notes and show, in fact, that they must be regarded with deep suspicion.

The two pages of Lansing's copy were discovered in the papers of Edmond C. Genet<sup>4</sup>—Citizen Genet,

the perfervid minister of the French Republic whose activities inflamed American politics in 1793. Comparing them with Lansing's own manuscript records of the Federal Convention—Lansing was also an anti-Federalist delegate from New York—in the possession of Professor Joseph Strayer of Princeton University establishes indisputably that they are in Lansing's hand.<sup>5</sup> The two pages were filed in the Genet papers under the year 1780. Immediately preceding them in the Genet Collection are three pages of Lansing's notes on the New York Ratifying Convention of 1788 (also heretofore unknown). The date atop the first page of Lansing's notes on the Ratifying Convention, June 28, 1788, was misread as 1780; hence, the entire Lansing manuscript—that on the New York Ratifying Convention and that on the Convention in Philadelphia—was placed in the collection under 1780. The misfiling and the unlikely location in the papers of Citizen Genet are doubtless the reasons that the notes from the Constitutional Convention have escaped the attention of scholars.

How did Citizen Genet get the Lansing manuscript? The answer lies in the politics of New York

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Edmond Charles "Citizen" Genet, the French diplomat sent as minister to the United States in 1793. Nineteenth-century wood engraving from a French aquatint engraving of 1793. Courtesy of the Granger Collection, New York.

State. Yates and Lansing were both wheelhorses in the political organization of George Clinton, which, after opposing the federal Constitution, evolved into one of the principal mainstays of Jeffersonian democracy. With Alexander Hamilton, Yates and Lansing represented New York at the Federal Convention. Both disapproved of its work and both left Philadelphia in the middle of the proceedings (July 10, 1787) to return to New York to sound an alarm against it. Yates and Lansing kept notes independently while at the convention. At some point after returning to New York, Lansing made a copy of Yates's notes, evidently as a check against his own.<sup>6</sup> Now enter Genet. This stormy petrel chose not to return to France, after being recalled in 1793. He went instead to New York, where he took up farming and married George Clinton's daughter. The couple settled near Albany, the home territory of Yates and Lansing. Recognizing that his controversial background debarred him from public involvement in politics, Genet did as much as he could

behind the scenes to help his father-in-law, whose democratic, states' rights philosophy he found congenial.

In 1808 Clinton challenged Madison, whom he scorned, for the presidential nomination on the Jeffersonian Republican ticket. The animosity between Clinton's and Madison's supporters is displayed in a letter of March 29, 1808, from Josiah Masters to Genet: "It is the full determination of Madison and his adherents to ruin us and our patriotic Men. All our friends here are of opinion, that if Madison succeeds that the Republican party is sunk and lost, their measures are opposite to the principles we have always professed, their hostility is irreconcilable."<sup>7</sup>

Deploring Madison's candidacy, Genet attempted to promote his father-in-law's cause by writing a pamphlet which purported to show that Madison had always been inimical to the principles of the "old time Republican party." He cited Madison's statements at the Federal Convention, as recorded in Yates's notes, which he obtained from Yates's widow.<sup>8</sup> In a pamphlet entitled *A Letter to the Electors of the President and Vice President of the United States*, by a "Citizen of New York," November 23, 1808,<sup>9</sup> Genet wrote that "Providence . . . hath within a few days thrown into the hands of the writer an incontestable historical document which unriddles the plots and machinations which have from the beginning of our federal constitution threatened its existence." "The notes," Genet continued, "made by the late Chief Justice Yates, of the debates of the federal convention of 1787, to which he was sent by the state of New-York, do yet exist; and a faithful copy of that valuable manuscript made by Mr. Lansing, also a delegate to the convention, and now Chancellor of our state, will soon be offered to the people, as the best commentary on their constitutional laws. An extract of that valuable chronicle is now laid before you."<sup>10</sup>

The extracts which Genet inserted in his pamphlet were confected into a polemic against Madison; they were "cleverly pieced together," Max Farrand writes, "to represent Madison as the leader of the national party to the Federal Constitution

*"Dinner in honor of Citizen Genet at Oeller's Tavern: Philadelphia, May 17, 1793." From a color illustration by Howard Pyle for Harper's New Monthly, April 1897. LC-USZ62-39541*





Thursday July 5<sup>th</sup> not pursuant to adjournment

Report of the Committee Read.

Mr. Graham - Calls for an Explanation.

Mr. Gerry. Explaining the principles of it. But they know their power, and determine <sup>the money</sup> money bills.

M. margin. The one lipidum is an indication of an adoption of the D.

M. Wilson - The committee have gone beyond their powers.

Mr. Martin - Proposes to take the question on the whole

Mr. Wilson. A Leap in the dark. Right to call for a division of the question.  
Suppose we shall rather the Southman seek light. Group

Madison. Retained from common anasarca on skin from the  
Respect of the Committee. made us a row to our common.

He gave nothing of confession - 50 - the right side

If some others in the second, want a bill - can they prevail on the other originating with a Bill. Left in his office. it has no effect.  
no more than a number provided as. 2 p.m. a small amount

connected with each other, and well preserved. Town of regulating  
Trade in port Treaty of 1793 no provision made, and growth  
business has

give us, than raising money. I want to be known to  
 please 1/3 to the delight of the 2/3 of the people - with the Ministry  
 we have nothing to fear, the other way everything. The small

Hester may at least see the more interesting. The remarks of Dr. Latham  
 will even lead to his suggestion of foreign innovations. A. D. Levy  
 will upon reflection well also agree. Rather a report of

of the plates or even an Antislavery tract than the four out.  
The op. of the press will be regulated by the wisdom of the slave.

To be on up the whole matter. It will be hard task - for time.

unanimous. The same was a Rep<sup>t</sup> of the same. The same  
the Human Race, ought to extend our views beyond the  
Provinces of Maryland, and as a result to be a general one.

known as "mumbo". Appears as "mumbo": is regarded as sort of conjurer or wizard. Opinion of the people rather a mixture of ridicule & fear - a serious objection. The smaller & greater deities rather imaginary. Subordinate the smaller deities of not much importance.

Suppose the smaller States do not assent. make all the talk in their States as much as they could. Example of Mass on - would be desired to follow Pa and N York. Should they persist. It must be carried. If persuasion won - Pa and Mass must.

Look on it with horror. What is here a difference of opinions  
may end in treason and even blood. Foreign interference  
he thinks inadvisable. What the man is is I do not know.

- Thursday July 5. Met pursuant to adjournment.  
Report of the Committee Read.
- Mr. Gorham. Calls for an Explanation.
- Mr. Gerry. Explains the principle of it. But they want their powers, in determining the original money bills.
- Mr. Martin. The one Expedient is on Condition of an adoption of the 2d.
- Mr. Wilson. The Committee gone beyond their powers.
- Mr. Martin. proposes to take the question on the whole.
- Mr. Wilson. A Leap in the dark. Right to call for a division of the question, hopes we shall take the Sentiments on each distinct proposal.
- Madison. Restrained from animadverting on them from the Respect of the Committee. Made from a view to an accommodation. He sees nothing of concession in it, the originating Bills. If seven States in the second, want a bill—cant they prevail on the other of originating such a Bill. Experience in Virginia and South Carolina, it has no effect. no more than a nominal privilege. 2 Branch small in number connected with each other, and will prevail. power of regulating Trade impost Treaties etc. no provisions made, and greater powers, than raising money. Drove to the dilemma to please  $\frac{1}{3}$  to the detriment of the  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the people—with the Majority we have nothing to fear, the other way everything. The small states may at last see the true interest. The warmth of Delaware will ever yield to his suggestion of foreign Connections. And Jersey will upon reflection will also yield. Rather a report or plan of 3 or 4 States or even an [anonymous?] production than the [present?]. The opinion of the Committee will be regulated by the wisdom of the plan.
- Mr Butler. To take up the whole in toto. It will be hard task—lose time. Moves whether we shall agree to it as wrote.
- G. Morris. Respect for the Committee. Extraordinary that propositions without amendment. We come here as Representatives of America, nay even human Race. ought to extend our Views beyond the Moment of the day. Appears as Ambassador to make a sort of bargain or truck. Opinion of the people rather a figure of Rethoric than a serious assertion. The small and greater states rather imaginary. suppose the smaller states do not accede. make all the Interest in their states as much as they could. Example of N Jersey would be disposed to follow Penn and N York. [one word indecipherable] they persist.
- It must be united. If persuasion wont—the sword must. Look on it with horror. What is here a difference of opinion may end in Contrav[er]sy and even blood. Foreign interference he thinks probable. What the horrors of it [in?] a patriotic bosom.
- Returns to the report. 2d. Branch cannot answer the End proposed. Will in [Event?] in war and an annihilation of the General Government]. Congress can recommend but cant enforce obedience. The Senate thus organized would take part with the state. Germany. Aulic Council. Suppose RI and Vir cast one vote—Source of dispute. vote different. The great State will say you have the Con [rest of word indecipherable] vote, and therefore we wont obey. Do we wish to [one word indecipherable] for Children Childrens to form our nation? to overturn the inequality of the states is impractical but we may allay the sting. Why persist in the distinct[ion] of states.
- May add to a [one word indecipherable] everything the 1st branch to controul everything. Nothing can be made right to the conviction being right.
- Mr. Bedford. To explain himself—Did not mean a wish to call foreign assistance. But if the larger states dissolved the Contract. Breach of faith. Those powers would take us by the hand. not wished by the smaller. professional habits and his own feelings. Plan are Accomod[ation?]. The small states like the preservation of the General Government] was to be preserved.

George Elsworth

Rutledge

Mr. Paterson - Warmth tends not to recom[mend] conviction—nor will the sword or Bayonet do it. The manner of the G[entlemen?] of Pennsylvania and Virginia have given cause of the Alarm.

Mr. Mason - The report recommending no more, in order to see whether it could not be the basis of our accommodation. shews how the question of Representation was agitated in Convention. Some Gent[lemen] will appeal to the world at large rather agree. If an agreement could be made, he would stay till he was burried here.

Mr. Butler - Against both propositions as they stand—property not represented. Taxation and representation ought to go together—if otherwise suppose they tax away my property and wander like a Tartar, with Liberty indeed, but a baggor. Rather would not have a second Branch.

G. Morris - Thinks property ought to have weight—Liberty most enjoyed by the savages—Numbers will amuse the Logycian & Matephysician but not reducible to practice.

Mr. Butler - Holland grumbling, because she has only one vote—and pays one half of the Expence.

G. Morris - Is for defining the number of votes for each state in perpetuity. It is better for small States. R.I. now one of 75. would she not agree to this rather than have 757 votes against it.

Mr. Gorham - Has no objection to the Motion of SC provided the property could be ascertained. It cannot be done by any way. In past. partial.

Judge Elsworth.

Rutledge.

Mr. Paterson.

Mr. Mason.

Mr. Butler.

G. Morris

Mr. Butler.

G. Morris.

Mr. Gorham

Warmth tends not to recom[mend] conviction—nor will the sword or Bayonet do it. The manner of the G[entlemen?] of Pennsylvania and Virginia have given cause of the Alarm.

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and working for the annihilation of the state governments."<sup>11</sup> According to Genet, Yates's notes showed Madison to be "the very man who attempted . . . with a persevering obstinacy in the federal convention, to prostrate our state governments [and] to substitute for our excellent federation . . . a consolidated government and by an inequality of suffrages founded on the numerous population of the large states to concentrate all the power and influence in their hands, and doom the minor states to dependence and subjection." "Take for your guide," Genet exhorted his readers, "our states rights and the constitutions which guarantee them, and obliged to make a choice between Mr Clinton and Mr Madison, give your votes to the one who hath never deviated and who is now what he always hath been, an energetic supporter of the American federation, but an enemy to consolidation and monarchy."<sup>12</sup>

Genet did not "soon" publish Lansing's full copy of Yates's notes as he had promised. He waited thirteen years before putting it to press. What prompted the 1821 publication, evidently, was the breaking of the seal of secrecy on the Federal Convention by the official publication of the *Journal* in 1819 and the convening in New York in 1821 of a state constitutional convention, whose framers, Genet hoped, would profit by the study of Yates's notes.<sup>13</sup>

In a prospectus of March 30, 1821, Genet, who did not reveal himself as editor, stated that he would publish the proceedings of the Federal Convention "as they have been daily recollected by the late respectable Chief Justice Yates, and copied from his notes by the late Chancellor of the State of New York, Mr. John Lansing."<sup>14</sup> The title page of the edition reiterates that it is taken from "Notes . . . Copied by John Lansing, Jun." And at the conclusion of the published text is the following declaration: "The preceding Notes of the late Chief Justice Yates, contained in two hundred and forty-five pages, of two volumes, were copied by me, literally, from the original manuscript in his hand writing . . . John Lansing, Jun."<sup>15</sup> It is clear, then, that Genet published Yates's notes from Lansing's copy and that the July 5, 1787, document in Genet's papers in Lansing's handwriting is a portion of the copy Genet used.

Lansing declared that he copied Yates's notes "literally." This seems probable, for Lansing's copy

is in rough, abbreviated form, unadorned with sonorous sentences. But if Lansing rendered the notes literally, Genet certainly did not. Less than half of the Lansing document appears in the printed text. There is no way of knowing if the same ratio of manuscript to printed matter prevails throughout the text, but if it does, our understanding of the making of the Constitution suffers from Genet's editorial excisions.

Genet took what today would be considered unforgiveable liberties in transcribing for the printer that part of the text which he did print. He altered every statement in the manuscript. This editorial method was characteristic of the age of Jared Sparks, who believed that editors should "improve" original sources to make their authors look more decorous and literate. But altering the phrases of the debates on the Federal Constitution and subtly changing the meaning, as Genet did in many places, is a weightier matter than correcting some mere letter writer's spelling. The debates on the Constitution are scrutinized by legislators and jurists for the precise intentions of the Founding Fathers, and the interpretations moderns give them often have practical consequences.

But there is perhaps an even more serious distortion in Genet's transcription of the Lansing document. The 1821 text betrays Genet's bias against Madison. In the final paragraph of the printed text, he rephrases Madison's word (as usual) and italicizes two of them, as if to stress the point that Madison was a committed majoritarian. If Genet prepared his transcription of the complete Lansing notes in 1808, as might be inferred from his promise of an imminent publication, then his work was done when his animus against Madison was most fulsome and when he no doubt intended the complete notes as well as the pamphlet extracts to discredit the Father of the Constitution. In other words, in addition to being incomplete and inaccurate, the text printed by Genet is polemical. The irony of Genet's campaign against Madison is that Madison carefully read Genet's publication of Yates's notes (he, of course, did not know the editor's identity) and, even

*On the following pages:*

*Pages for July 5, 1787, from the Secret Proceedings of the Federal Convention. Edmond Genet's edition. Rare Book and Special Collections Division. LC-USZ62-65393, LC-USZ62-65394*



## SECRET PROCEEDINGS

That the subsequent propositions be recommended to the convention, on condition that both shall be generally adopted.

That in the first branch of the legislature, each of the states now in the union, be allowed one member for every 40,000 inhabitants, of the description reported in the seventh resolution of the committee of the whole house— That each state, not containing that number, shall be allowed one member.

That all bills for raising or apportioning money, and for fixing salaries of the officers of government of the United States, shall originate in the first branch of the legislature, and shall not be altered or amended by the second branch ; and that no money shall be drawn from the public treasury, but in pursuance of appropriations to be originated in the first branch.

That in the second branch of the legislature, *each state shall have an equal vote.*

THURSDAY, JULY 5th, 1787.

Met pursuant to adjournment.

The report of the committee was read.

Mr. Gorham. I call for an explanation of the principles on which it is grounded.

Mr. Gerry, the chairman, explained the principles.

Mr. Martin. The one representation is proposed as an expedient for the adoption of the other.

Mr. Wilson. The committee has exceeded their powers.

Mr. Martin proposed to take the question on the whole of the report.

Mr. Wilson. I do not chuse to take a leap in the dark. I have a right to call for a division of the question on each distinct proposition.

Mr. Madison. I restrain myself from animadverting



## OF THE FEDERAL CONVENTION. 207

on the report, from the respect I bear to the members of the committee. But I must confess I see nothing of concession in it.


The originating money bills is no concession on the part of the smaller states, for if seven states in the second branch should want such a bill, their interest in the first branch will prevail to bring it forward—it is nothing more than a nominal privilege.

The second branch, small in number, and well connected, will ever prevail. The power of regulating trade, imposts, treaties, &c. are more essential to the community than raising money, and no provision is made for those in the report—We are driven to an unhappy dilemma. Two thirds of the inhabitants of the union are to please the remaining one third by sacrificing their essential rights.

When we satisfy the majority of the people in securing their rights, we have *nothing* to fear ; in any other way, *every thing*. The smaller states, I hope will at last see their true and real interest.—And I hope that the warmth of the gentleman from Delaware will never induce him to yield to his own suggestion of seeking for foreign aid.

[At this period MESSRS. YATES and LANSING left the convention, and the remainder of the session was employed to complete the constitution on the principles already adopted. See the revised draft of the constitution and the constitution of the United States, with all the ratified amendments as at present existing, in the appendix.]



 The preceding Notes of the late Chief Justice YATES, contained in two hundred and forty-five pages,\* of two volumes, were copied by me, literally, from the original manuscript in his hand writing.—The several papers referred to did not accompany his notes.

JOHN LANSING, Jun.

\* The number of pages in the manuscript.

though complaining of its inaccuracies, made numerous changes in his own notes—Farrand counts at least fifty<sup>16</sup>—to incorporate material from it. Thus, in those places where Madison relied on Genet, his notes may be unreliable.

After analyzing the two pages of Lansing's copy of Yates's notes and establishing their connection

with Citizen Genet's 1821 edition, it can be fairly said that, although the published version of Yates's notes is far from worthless, it cannot be used with confidence. To continue to consider it the second most important source for the Constitutional Convention is to concede how poorly documented that seminal event in American history is.

## NOTES

1. Max Farrand, ed., *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787*, 4 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934), 1: xv. Clinton Rossiter writes: "the notes of Yates are, of course, hardly less important for the period of his attendance than are those of Madison." *Alexander Hamilton and the Constitution* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1964), p. 276 n.
2. Rare Book and Special Collections Division.
3. Farrand, *Records*, 3:446.
4. Edmond C. Genet Papers, vol. 4, 1780–81. Manuscript Division.
5. I wish to thank Professor Joseph Strayer and Professor Robert Rutland of the University of Virginia for their assistance. Professor Strayer published Lansing's records as *The Delegates from New York or Proceedings of the Federal Convention of 1787* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1939).
6. Strayer, *The Delegates from New York*, p. 7.
7. Genet Papers, vol. 17, 1799–1816.
8. Genet to James Monroe, August 1821, Genet Papers, vol. 18, 1816–95.
9. Rare Book and Special Collections Division.
10. *A Letter to the Electors of the President . . .*, pp. 3–4.
11. Farrand, *Records*, 1: xiv.
12. *A Letter to the Electors of the President . . .*, pp. 5–6.
13. *Secret Proceedings and Debates . . .*, p. 5.
14. Prospectus, March 30, 1821, Genet Papers, Box 20, 1761–97, 1821.
15. *Secret Proceedings and Debates . . .*, p. 207.
16. Farrand, *Records*, 1: xviii.

# In the Wake of the Printing Press

by Elizabeth L. Eisenstein

Several years ago when my "Conjectures about the Impact of Printing" appeared, I subtitled the article: "A Preliminary Report."<sup>1</sup> My talk this evening might be subtitled "An Interim Report." I plan to share with you some of my second thoughts about problems posed in my earlier writings and also to provide a preview of part of the territory which will be covered in my forthcoming book.

The book is entitled *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*. The choice of this title posed problems that I will take up a little later. First I want to say something about the choice of topic—about how I became concerned with the historical consequences of printing in the first place. This takes me back to 1963, when my curiosity was provoked (and I use the word *provoked* deliberately) by reading Marshall McLuhan's *The Gutenberg Galaxy*.<sup>2</sup>

While studying and teaching Western European history, I had become increasingly dissatisfied with prevailing explanations for the political and intellectual revolutions of early modern times. McLuhan's work pointed to a dimension of change I had not considered, a dimension that seemed to be left out of conventional historical accounts. By bringing the fifteenth-century communications shift into the picture, I thought it might be possible to develop more adequate explanations for certain puzzling aspects of early modern European history.

But *The Gutenberg Galaxy* was written by a man who condemned historical inquiries as obsolete and who presented five hundred years of unevenly phased change as a single event. Before other matters could be considered, I needed more specific historical information on the advent of printing and on some of its initial effects. (I was thinking then, and still am thinking now, only of Western Europe. The advent of printing in China or Korea presents fascinating problems, but they lie outside my area of concern.) What were some of the new cultural features introduced by typography in Western Europe in the fifteenth century? How did other authorities view the consequences of the communications shift?

Anticipating that I would need to make a strenuous effort to master a large and growing literature, I set out to investigate what had been written on this obviously important topic. To my surprise, I found that there was not even a small literature available for consultation. All authorities seemed to

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agree that major consequences were entailed but all stopped short of spelling out just what these consequences were. There was not a single book or even a sizable article which attempted to survey or summarize the main consequences of the advent of printing.

Though I recognized that it would take more than one book to remedy this situation, I felt that a preliminary effort, however inadequate, was better than none and so embarked on a decade of study to acquaint myself with the special literature on early printing and the history of the book. Here, indeed, I did find a very large literature, one I am still struggling to master. In the course of studying this unfamiliar material, I discovered (as all neophytes do) that what seemed relatively simple at first became increasingly complex on closer examination. The advent of printing was in itself a complicated innovation involving an ensemble of many different changes. As for its consequences, they seemed to be even more variegated as well as elusive and difficult to summarize. It was particularly difficult to avoid oversimplification in preliminary papers and articles. Whenever I tried to encapsulate my findings in the form of a thesis statement or terse formulation, I found I was dissatisfied with the result. At this very moment I feel a conflict between the obligation of a speaker to provide a few key statements which will sum things up for an audience and an even more compelling obligation to convey my sense that any simple or single formula will be misleading at best.

To illustrate what I mean, let me offer one example of a formula that has been imputed to me. The advent of printing, the formula goes, moved Western Europe "from image culture to word culture." Now I did imply that some such formula might work, but I failed to note that its reverse was also true: that a movement from word to image was being encouraged by the same process and at the same time.

Let us look at this example a little more closely. The formula "image to word" appeared in a seminal article on literacy and education by Lawrence Stone.<sup>3</sup> His point was well taken. A latent iconoclasm was reinforced and the medieval justification for allowing graven images in church was weakened by print. Pope Gregory the Great had held that statues were useful as "Bibles for the illiterate." Sixteenth-century reformers such as Calvin could

insist on Bible reading as a duty required of every man and could dispense with religious statuary altogether. As Frances Yates points out in her fascinating study *The Art of Memory*, the more information storage and retrieval was handled by printed reference works, the less need there was for vivid images to serve as memory aids.<sup>4</sup> The increasing number of encyclopedias in book form diminished the need for cathedrals to serve as encyclopedias in stone.

But the "image to word" formula holds good only for a limited set of phenomena. After all, printing also endowed graven images with a new lease on life. As the work of Albrecht Dürer, Lucas Cranach, and others suggests, print stimulated the inventive faculties of Protestant as well as Catholic image makers. Even Protestant iconoclasts made use of picture books and exploited caricatures and cartoons. Printed publicity, furthermore, helped to win new celebrity for painters and draftsmen no less than for playwrights and poets.

The formula seems even less applicable when one considers the contributions made by printed images to the natural sciences. In such fields as anatomy, geography, and astronomy the influence of printing led away from using words, away from ambiguous culturally bound verbal statements toward clear and precise pictorial and mathematical ones. By making it possible to duplicate maps, graphs, tables, and charts, print revolutionized communications within the Commonwealth of Learning. The creation of a more uniform pictorial and mathematical vocabulary made it possible to bypass the confusion engendered by linguistic multiformity, by translation problems, and by diverse names for constellations, landmasses, flora, or fauna.

When attempting to explain the rise of modern science, then, one must be prepared not just to discard the formula but to turn it around. In this area, print led toward an increased use of the image and a diminished use of the word.

This example may serve to remind us that print not only encouraged the spread of literacy among people who had no access to manuscripts but also affected communications among the literate professional elites. Image worship gave way to bibliolatry among the masses of faithful in Protestant lands. At the same time, men of learning (whether Protestant or Catholic) often became less certain than earlier scholars had been about the literal

**S** intra circuli puncto signato. ab eo plures q̄z due linee ducte ad circūferentiā fuerint equales. punctū illud centrum circuli esse necesse est.

**S**it ut a puncto. a. signato intra circuli. b. c. d. ducte sint. 3. linee. a. b. a. c. a. d. ad circūferentiā quas pono ēē equales dico punctum. a. esse centrū circuli. Produca enim duas lineas. c. b. z. d. c. z. diuidā utraqz eaz p eq̄lia. c. b. quidem in puncto. e. z. d. c. in puncto. f. z. producam. e. a. z. f. a. quas ap/ plico circūferentie ex utraqz parte. eritqz per. s. p̄mi uterqz angulorū qui sunt. a. d. c. eq̄l alteri. igit p. 13. uterqz erit rect⁹. Silr quoqz p eādē uterqz anguloz q̄ sūt. a. d. f. rectus: ergo per conelariū p̄me huius. quia. a. e. diuidit. c. b. per equalia z o/ thogonaliter ipsa transit per centrū. similiter quoqz. a. f. transit per centrum. qua diuidit. d. c. per equalia z orthogonaliter. quare. a. ē centrū qd est propositum

Propositio .10.

**S** circulus circulum secet. in duobus tantum locis secare necesse est.

**S**int si possibile est duo circuli secantes se in pluribus q̄z in duobus locis super. 3. puncta. a. b. c. producam lineas. a. b. z. a. c. quas diuidam per equalia in punctis. d. z. e. z. producam a puncto. e. lineam. c. f. per p̄ndicularem super lineam. a. c. z a puncto. d. lineam. d. f. p̄ndicu/ larem super lineam. a. b. z secant se due linee. c. f. et. d. f. i puncto. f. eritqz per cor/ delariū p̄me huius punctus. f. centrum circuli utriusqz qd est impossibile. per 5. huius.

Propositio .11.

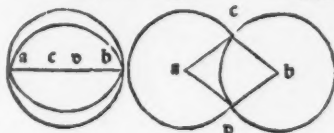
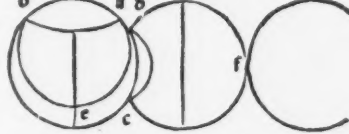
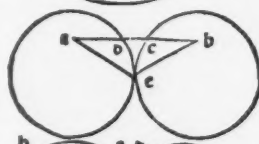
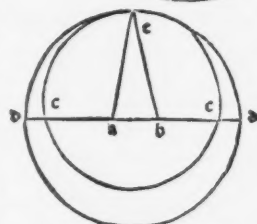
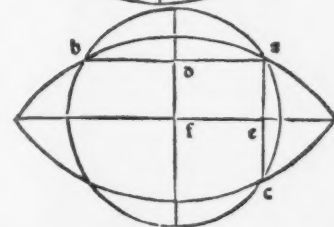
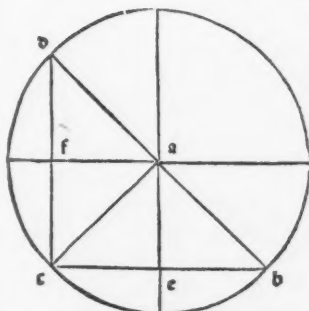
**S** circulus circulum contingat. lineaqz per centra eorum transeat. ad punctum contactus eaz applicari necesse est.

**S**i enim linea transiens per centra duorum circulorum. e. c. et. d. c. se se contingentiū intra v̄l extra. nō vadit ad locum contactus se/ cet circūferentiā utriusqz: sitqz. a. centrū circuli. e. d. et. b. centrū circuli. e. c. et ducatur linea recta. a. b. c. d. secans circūferentiā utriusqz: et ducan tur linee a puncto. e. qui sit locus contactus ad centra que sunt. e. a. e. b. eruntqz in cōtactu interiori. p. 20. p̄mi due lineæ. c. b. z. b. a. longiores. c. a. q̄re longiores. a. d. est enim. a. centrū circuli. e. d. z qm̄. b. c. est equalis. e. b. qm̄. b. est centrum circuli. e. c. erit. c. a. longior. a. d. qd est impossibile. ¶ In cōtactu vero exteriori crūt due lineæ. a. c. z. c. b. longiores. a. b. quare. a. d. e. c. b. maius erūt q̄ tota. a. b. qd est fal sum.

Propositio .12.

**S** circulus circulum contingat line intrinsecus siue extrin secus. in vno tantum loco contingere necesse est.

**S**i enī fuerit possibile. ut circulus circuli cōtingat in duob⁹ locis intra v̄l extra cōtingat circuli. a. b. c. d. circulus. a. b. e. interi⁹ i duo/ bus p̄ctis. a. b. vel exteri⁹ circulus. c. d. f. i duob⁹ p̄ctis. c. d. Lū er/ go ducemus lineā rectā ab. a. ad. b. si ipsa cadat extra circuli. a. b. e. interiorē ac/ cidet p̄tariū secūde hui⁹. Qd si ipsa cadat intra ipsū: cū diuiserimus ipsā p equa/ lia z eduxerim⁹ a p̄cto dionis p̄ndiculārē ad ipsā. fueritqz applicata. circumfe/ rentie ex utraqz pte ipsa trāsibit p centrū amboz circuloz. quare accidet cōtrariū p̄missē. ¶ In circulo vero cōtingente exteri⁹ in p̄ctis. c. d. si ducam⁹ lineā rectā a puncto. c. ad punctū. d. necesse est accidere p̄tariū se b⁹. quare utriusqz ipossibile





meaning of the sacred word. This point is rarely noted, partly because printing is connected almost exclusively with evangelical and popularizing trends—with vernacular Bibles and the spread of literacy. Little or no attention has been given to the internal transformations within a Commonwealth of Learning where the Latin Bible had long been studied but complete polyglot versions had never been seen. In my book I hope to rectify this imbalance by placing special emphasis on changes which affected literate elites—men of learning and letters who had previously relied on scribal transmission and who gravitated to printshops almost as soon as the first presses appeared.

This special emphasis on conditions within the Commonwealth of Learning runs counter to current trends. My concerns are different from those of Africanists, anthropologists, and students of popular culture who also deal with communications and textual transmission. Whereas they are interested in the shift from an oral culture to a literate one, I am concerned (primarily although not exclusively) with the shift from one kind of literate culture to another. When Jan Vansina, who is both an anthropologist and a historian of precolonial Africa, explores “the relationship of oral tradition to written history” he naturally skips over the difference between written history produced by scribes and written history produced in printshops.<sup>5</sup> When Western European historians explore the effect of printing on popular culture, they naturally focus attention on the shift from an oral folk culture to a print-made one. In both cases, attention is deflected away from the main issues I want to explore. These issues are so unfamiliar that some readers of my early articles jumped to the mistaken conclusion that I was dealing with the same issues that Vansina does.

This misunderstanding is difficult to forestall. For one thing, the advent of printing did encourage the spread of literacy at the same time that it changed the way written texts were handled by already literate groups. For another, even literate groups had to rely much more upon oral transmission in the age of scribes than they did later on. Many features which are characteristic of oral culture, such as the cultivation of memory arts and the role of a hearing public, were also of great significance among scribal scholars. Problems associated with oral transmission thus cannot be avoided even when

one is dealing with literate groups. Nevertheless, the experience of the scribal scholar was different from that of his preliterate contemporaries; the advent of printing had an effect on Latin-reading professors which was different from its effect on unlettered artisans. To leave out the former and consider only the latter is to lose a chance to help explain major intellectual transformations of early modern times.

In dealing with these transformations one cannot ignore how printing spurred the spread of literacy. But to me the most neglected important aspect is not the spread of literacy but how printing altered written communications within the Commonwealth of Learning. Thus when I refer (as I often do) to an “unacknowledged revolution” I am thinking not of an oral culture but of a scribal culture being replaced.

The first part of my book is aimed at identifying the main features of this “unacknowledged revolution.” Here it proved difficult to strike the right balance between the enthusiasts who believe printing changed everything and the skeptics who hold it changed nothing. The enthusiasts take the claims made in prefaces by early printers and editors too literally. They ignore the fact that early prefaces, like advertising copy written today, promised much more than early printers actually delivered. The skeptics overreact to the boasts and false claims made by early printers: they often unfairly judge early printed products by twentieth-century standards, and they tend to exaggerate the capacity of medieval copyists to arrest scribal corruption and to anticipate trends which came only after printing.

Of course we need to take stock of the changes which manuscript book production underwent during the millennium before printshops appeared. Certainly there is good reason to be cautious about overestimating the initial changes wrought by print and good reason to issue a warning against taking the claims of early printers at face value. It is also important to be alert to the resemblance between late manuscripts and early printed books. There is much wisdom in Rudolf Hirsch’s statement: “The road from manuscript to print was continuous *and* broken. . . .”<sup>6</sup> Still, I feel that well-grounded fear of exaggerating the break should be coupled with more concern about underrating its true dimensions. It is common at present to describe the appearance of urban booksellers and lay stationers in



the twelfth century as a revolutionary change and the appearance of the first printers in the fifteenth century as an evolutionary change. To place a "book revolution" in the twelfth century while denying that there was one in the fifteenth century<sup>7</sup> does not preserve historical perspectives but rather sets them askew.

The new powers of the press are especially likely to be underestimated when printing is placed in the framework provided by the history of the book. For instance, the masterful survey of the first three centuries of printing by Febvre and Martin has been misleadingly entitled *L'Apparition du Livre* (*The Coming of the Book* in recent English translation).<sup>8</sup> By Gutenberg's time, the book had been in circulation for a thousand years or more, depending on whether one starts with the codex or goes back to the earlier scroll. What is new in fifteenth-century Western Europe is not "l'apparition du livre" but "l'apparition de l'imprimerie."

Largely because of this consideration, I decided it was best to take as my title *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*. Bearing in mind Marc Bloch's dictum that "the good historian is like the giant of the fairy tale. He knows that wherever he catches the scent of human flesh, there his quarry lies,"<sup>9</sup> I would have liked to have underlined the human element in my title by taking the early printer as my "agent of change." Yet although I do think of certain master printers as being the unsung heroes of the early modern era, and although they are the true protagonists of my book, impersonal processes involving transmission and communication must also be given due attention. Of course not one tool but many were involved in the new duplicating process. The term *printing press* in the context of the book serves simply as a convenient label—a shorthand way of referring to a larger cluster of specific changes that entail the use of movable metal type, oil-based ink, and so forth. The point of departure, in any case, is not the invention of one device in one Mainz shop but the establishment of many printshops in many urban centers throughout Europe over the course of two decades or so. This entailed the appearance of a new occupational culture associated with the printing trades. New publicity techniques and new communication networks also appeared. By placing less emphasis on the advent of the book and more on the advent of printshops in many towns throughout Europe between

the 1460s and 1480s, I think we will be better situated to appreciate the revolutionary aspects of the shift.

The first part of my book is aimed at bringing these revolutionary aspects more clearly into view by considering the new functions performed by early printers, not just as businessmen but also as editors, translators, lexicographers, and cultural impresarios. Economic historians correctly assign printers a prominent position among the early capitalists of Western Europe, and their entrepreneurial role is certainly significant. Early printers, however, were more at home in the world of books than were other capitalists. They engaged in new cultural as well as new economic activities. They acted as press agents for men of learning and letters, served as sponsors of scientific research, and sometimes engaged in new forms of data collection themselves. Thus the printshop did more than issue products which enriched libraries and literary diets. I want to show how it provided a new setting for intellectual activity—how it served as a kind of institute for advanced learning (as a "laboratory of research," in Myron Gilmore's phrase<sup>10</sup>) which rivaled the older university, court, and academy and which provided preachers and teachers with opportunities to pursue alternative careers. Martin Lowry's forthcoming biography of Aldus Manutius, the sixteenth-century Venetian printer who used the dolphin and anchor as his trademark, describes the Aldine printshop of the 1500s, with its household of some thirty people, as "a now almost incredible mixture of the sweatshop, the boarding house and the research institute." This statement nicely sums up the hybrid character of the establishments set up by master printers in early modern Europe.

The revision of familiar guidelines that is entailed in stressing the new functions performed in printshops may be suggested by considering Karl Mannheim's much-cited work in the sociology of knowledge. Mannheim singles out the intelligentsia as a unique social group because they are cut off from "direct access to any vital and functioning segment of society. . . . The secluded study and dependence on printed matter afford only a derivative view of the social process. No wonder that this stratum remained long unaware of the social character of change. . . . The proletariat had already perfected its own world view when those latecomers appeared on the scene."<sup>11</sup>



ANDREAE VESALII  
BRUXELLENSIS, SCHOLAE  
medicorum Patauinae professoris, de  
Humani corporis fabrica  
Libri septem.

CVM CAESAREAS  
Matth. Galliarum Regis, ac Senatus Veneti gra-  
tia et privilegio, ut in diplomatis eorundem continetur.

B A S I L E A E .

For Mannheim "the rise of the intelligentsia marks the last phase of the growth of social consciousness." In my view, however, he has put first things last. Many inhabitants of the early modern Republic of Letters spent more time in the printshop than in secluded studies. They were thus in direct contact with a "vital and functioning segment of society." Printshops were more sensitive registers of political, economic, religious, and cultural developments than any other kind of shop in early modern Europe. Authors who literally "composed" their works with a composing stick in hand were not uncommon in the age of Erasmus—nor in that of Benjamin Franklin. The historical and social consciousness of men of letters and learning in early modern Europe seems to me to have been well in advance of that of other groups. The conditions Mannheim describes may have become operative after the advent of the steam press in the early nineteenth century. Before then, however, men of learning were in close touch with mechanics and merchants. Indeed the genteel publisher and the mechanic printer were one and the same man. This hybrid figure presided over the rise of a lay intelligentsia which then developed a world view of its own.

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The question of how printing may have affected prevailing world views is taken up in the second part of my book. It deals in turn with the three major intellectual movements of early modern times: the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Scientific Revolution. I hope to suggest how the communications shift may have entered into each of these movements by changing the way classical, scriptural, and scientific textual traditions were transmitted and were received.

A special problem is posed by the Renaissance because the advent of printing comes well after the beginning of the classical revival in Italy. In dealing with this problem I have tried to take advantage of criticism directed at a preliminary article in *Past and Present* and at papers given at the Folger Library and at the Columbia University Seminar

on the Renaissance.<sup>12</sup> My critics alerted me to the need to distinguish clearly between new features introduced by the advent of printing and other earlier changes associated with the work of Petrarch and his successors. The first phase of the Italian Renaissance must be placed within the context of scribal culture and seen to predate printing by a century and a half.

Accordingly, one should take as a starting point the self-conscious revival that was launched by scribal scholars in Italy well before the first printshop appeared in Mainz. Then one may pose the question: How was the ongoing Italian revival affected by being perpetuated in print? In dealing with the question, I borrow from art historian Erwin Panofsky a distinction between the permanent Italian Renaissance and previous transitory "renaissances."<sup>13</sup> In its early phase, the Italian Renaissance was like the Carolingian or twelfth-century revival in that it depended on the limited and highly perishable resources of scribal culture. The preservative powers of print transformed the Petrarchian revival, producing a movement which resembles Panofsky's "permanent total Renaissance." Thus, for the first time, Greek studies could be pursued independently of the survival of enclaves of Greek immigrants in the Mediterranean world. It became possible to carry on Greek studies in northern Europe, across the Alps, across the channel, and even overseas. For the first time, a permanent process of recovery was launched so that the accumulation of ancient texts and artifacts became continuous.

By thus assigning special significance to the continuous process of recovery launched by printing, one may explain the anomalous association of the fall of Constantinople with a revival of learning. Until the 1450s the destruction of a major center of manuscript records had always been associated with the onset of a "dark" age. The dispersal of Greek scholars and Greek manuscripts after the Ottoman takeover, however, was associated not with the beginning of a dark age but with a prelude to a golden one. This reversal becomes less puzzling when one takes into consideration the movement of Greek scholars and manuscripts not only into Western classrooms and libraries but also into the newly established printshops.

Other problems associated with the Renaissance also may be clarified by considering the preservative

From Andreas Vesalius, *De humani corporis fabrica* (Basel: J. Oporinus, 1543). The bearded man peering over the balcony is thought to represent Oporinus. Rare Book and Special Collections Division. LC-USZ62-65388

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M

Auctores quorum libri & scripta omnia  
prohibentur.

*Mauch. auct. uide Hies. f. Mauch. auct.  
Mainard. pedemontanus uide Augustinus.  
Mauch. auct. uide f. Mauch. auct.*



Arceus Palingenius Stellatus.

*Marcellus regionarius uide Joannes Marcellus*  
Marcus Antonius Calvinus skell-reg

Marcus Antonius Cornutus.

Marcus Cordelius Torgensis.

Marcus Ephesinus.

Marcus Tilemanus Heshusius.

*Marot. uide Clement.*  
Marfilus de Padua *Marpachius uide Joannes Marpachius*

Martiniko.

Martinus Borrbhaus Stugardian.

Martinus Bucerus.

Martinus Frechtus.

Martinus Lutherus, hereticus.

Martinus Meglin.

Martinus Osterminderus. *Martinus Osterminderus uide Leon.*

Matthæus Alberus. *Matthæus Alberus uide Joannes Alber.*

Matthæus, qui et Assartius Scöffer

Matthæus Philargirus.

Matthæus Zellius Keiser spergen.

Matthæus Zifer.

Matthias Flaccus Illyricus.

Maturinus Corderius.

Maximilianus Maurus. *Mayre uide Joannes le mayre.*

*Megander. Megander uide Gaspar Megander.*

*Meglin uide f. Martinus Meglin.*

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powers of print. For example the preservation of artists' and writers' personal records together with their portraits and works contributed to certain aspects of Renaissance individualism. New forms of publicity helped to move "the drive for fame" into high gear. It also seems likely that the limited resources of scribal culture inhibited perception of anachronism and that the preservative powers of print entered into the growing sense of distance through time and the new historical consciousness which is a hallmark of modern thought.

In Renaissance studies there is a tendency to neglect the effects of printing because Gutenberg came so long after the Petrarchian revival was launched. In Reformation studies the topic is not neglected, but I think it is brought in too little and too late. Thus printing and Protestantism are conventionally linked by the spread of Lutheran broadsides and Bibles after 1517, but little attention is devoted to the output of Bibles and other printed matter before that date. As I see it, printing acted both as a prerequisite for and a precipitant of the Lutheran revolt. New issues posed by printing had begun to divide Western Christendom and force churchmen to adopt new positions well before the Ninety-five Theses were nailed, mailed, or issued in print.

In considering how printing affected a traditional Christian faith, I became increasingly aware that a two-way process was at work. Here as elsewhere, a McLuhan formula seems misleading. The message and medium must be kept apart to see how they interact. Beginning with Gutenberg's Bibles and indulgences, the old messages and the new medium acted upon each other. A traditional drive to spread the Gospel and to convert the infidel helped power the early presses. In this connection, the enthusiastic welcome given to printing by Western churchmen before the Reformation needs more attention. A cardinal described printing as a "divine art"; popes regarded it as a God-given weapon in the crusade against infidel Turks. Early examples of claims of a superior Western technology coupled with assertions of moral and spiritual superiority may be found

in anti-Ottoman propaganda campaigns of the late fifteenth century.<sup>14</sup> (When Protestants hailed printing as a divinely ordained weapon against the Pope they were simply playing variations on an earlier Church-sponsored theme.) In addition to special Christian motives and long-lived apostolic drives, Bible printing was powered by the capitalist urge to expand markets, outdo competitors, and increase book sales. The new combination of evangelism and capitalism made for a powerful, irreversible movement which threatened traditional priestly prerogatives in an unprecedented way.

The changes wrought by printing on an older scriptural tradition were so far-reaching that orthodoxy as well as heresy was inevitably transformed. The use of the new medium to implement old aims carried some religious reformers such as Erasmus so far beyond traditional limits that in retrospect they seem to have performed revolutionary roles. The most conservative theologian, obedient layman, or tradition-bound pope could not avoid departing from medieval precedent even in the act of defending the status quo. The positions adopted by the Catholic Church at Trent reflected changes engendered by print no less than did those taken by the Protestants. Still, a common interest in the spread of vernacular Bibles and lay literacy did link Protestants more closely than Catholics with the interests of printers-at-large. Providing breviaries for priests, manuals for confessors, and textbooks for seminarians kept certain privileged Catholic firms prosperous; but the censorship regulations issued by Counter-Reformation churches curtailed the open-ended expansion of lay book markets and diversification of output that was occurring in Protestant regions, to the disadvantage of Catholic printers.

The new device of the Index of Prohibited Books boomeranged, producing an intriguing, asymmetric effect in the pattern of the European printed book trade. Just as being banned in Boston helped American book sales in states other than Massachusetts during the 1930s and 1940s, inclusion of a title on the Index heightened risks and lowered profits for Catholic printers while having the reverse effect upon Protestant ones. Authors such as Rabelais, Boccaccio, Machiavelli, and Aretino who were by no means favored by Protestant pastors nevertheless were promoted by Protestant publishers, who thus endowed Protestant literary culture with a strangely secular and libertine flavor.

*Machiavelli's name has been added to this page from the Index librorum prohibitorum (Rome, 1559). Rare Book and Special Collections Division. LC-USZ62-65389*

As the peculiar workings of the Index may suggest, it is a mistake to assume that printers invariably depended on directives from above—that they merely reflected prevailing orthodoxies and served as press agents for whatever power was in command. No doubt they provided publicity for ruling princes and prelates; they also exploited publicity for their own special ends. Because they shared common interests with early Protestants, they flocked to Wittenberg and Geneva almost as soon as Luther and Calvin arrived. But they also gravitated to other towns, such as Basel and Frankfurt, where religious zeal was more subdued. Some printers helped to fan the flames of religious warfare by mounting propaganda campaigns. Others contributed to a clandestine propagation of cosmopolitan and tolerant creeds. An affinity for so-called Nicodemite positions, which masked inner dissent by outward conformity to established churches and secular officials, marked many of the most prosperous and celebrated sixteenth-century firms. Independent of secular dynastic interests and religious orthodoxy alike, these firms served as sanctuaries for refugees of diverse faiths and represented a special kind of “Third Force” in early modern Europe.

Here again it seems important to consider the scholarly elites as well as mass movements and popular trends. Greek or Polyglot Bibles clearly lacked the widespread appeal that vernacular Bibles had. Nevertheless, they did encourage the formation of polyglot households in the shops of certain merchant publishers. More than mere toleration of Greeks, Jews, and other émigré scholars was entailed for those master printers who supervised scholarly versions of sacred works. The homes of these men resembled miniature international houses for months on end. (Henri II Estienne provided a celebrated example when he described the household in which he grew up.) Some sixteenth-century printshops thus provided wandering scholars with a meeting place, a message center, a sanctuary, and a research institute. The new industry encouraged not only the formation of syndicates and far-flung networks similar to those extended by merchants in the cloth trade or any other large-scale enterprise during early modern times. It also encouraged the formation and articulation of a special ethos which was ecumenical, irenic, and tolerant without being secular; genuinely pious yet opposed to fanaticism; often combining outward conformity to established churches and regimes with inner fidelity to heterodox creeds. Thus

some of the views which later became characteristic of the Enlightenment were first shaped in certain sixteenth-century printshops under the aegis of merchant publishers who plied their trade during the religious wars.

Some of these merchant publishers, such as Christophe Plantin in Antwerp, used their shops for special clandestine purposes. Plantin belonged to a heterodox religious sect called the “House of Love” or the “Family of Love.” He permitted his presses to be used for the surreptitious purpose of issuing “Famelist” tracts and recruited several of his associates—translators, editors, engravers, booksellers—into his secret sect.<sup>15</sup> Perhaps the most celebrated recruit was Benito Arias Montano, a Spanish chaplain who went to Antwerp to supervise work on Plantin’s Polyglot Bible. He secretly converted to the sect and after returning to the Spanish court helped to smuggle forbidden tracts and books into Spain.<sup>16</sup> The involvement of a merchant publisher in this kind of secret society (and Plantin is only one of several) poses special problems for historians, who can never be sure whether they are unwisely overemphasizing the influence of a particular secret sect by confusing it with the normal operations of a large international book trade network or, conversely, seriously underestimating the levers of influence exerted by a relatively small secret brotherhood. Involvement in a certain kind of clandestine activity was common among book merchants who had no secret affiliations; as businessmen, they found it profitable to circumvent foreign censors and to tap black markets abroad. The early modern book trade thus encouraged many different kinds of clandestine operations, and it is especially difficult to distinguish between them.

This suggests a possible explanation of why the older notion of a conspiracy or a plot with a definite goal (one particular assassination, abduction, riot, or rebellion) was replaced by the more awe-inspiring notion of a vast omniscient and impersonal conspiratorial cosmopolitan network. The diverse clandestine activities of printers, booksellers, engravers, and others affiliated with the far-flung book trade networks of early modern times lend themselves to a new indefinitely extended concept of conspiracy. A new kind of conspiratorial myth-making was also encouraged by the way printed publicity was manipulated by certain secret societies. The Rosicrucians, for example, paradoxically pub-



lished their existence as a secret brotherhood by issuing manifestos and pamphlets. The appearance of placards all over the streets of Paris in the early seventeenth century proclaiming the arrival of the "invisible ones" created a sensation and left many puzzles in its wake.<sup>17</sup> We will probably never be able to unravel the full meaning of this episode, but we may at least agree that the Brethren of the Rosy Cross did know how to create a sensation by manipulating the new medium. They were among the very first to produce what we all know today as a "media event."

I wish I could dwell longer on the fascinating problems posed by the new kinds of secrecy and duplicity that were encouraged by printing, but I must touch on the last section of the book, which is devoted to the relationship between printing and modern science. Here again my approach will differ from conventional treatments. The usual interpretation stresses popularizing themes (such as the rise of the vernaculars, the appearance of artisan authors, and new varieties of science writing reflected in the term "popular mechanics"). Printing is seen to have encouraged a new genre of vernacular technical literature outside the university, even though Aristotle still reigned supreme in traditional Latin lectures.<sup>18</sup> There is much evidence to support this interpretation. Printing did make it possible for craftsmen, artisan engineers, reckon masters, barber surgeons, painters, and potters who had not mastered Latin to contribute to public knowledge. By elaborating on this point one can draw useful connections between Protestantism and early modern science. The authorization of vernacular Bibles can be linked to the encouragement of vernacular technical literature. In seventeenth-century England during the Civil War, for example, the cause of Englishing Bibles and lawbooks expanded to include Englishing medical prescriptions as well. (The radical Puritan was so far in advance of his times that three centuries later Latin medical prescriptions have not yet been Englished for us all.)

I am sympathetic (at least as an occasional patient) to the Puritan enthusiast who believed medicine should be deprived of its aura of mystery, and I think it is important to note how data collection was spurred by the vernacular translation movement. But I am also persuaded that this particular theme has been overplayed. Vernacular translation had little to do with the major landmarks in early science: *De Revolutionibus*, *De Fabrica*, *De Motu*,

*Principia*—each one in Latin, each by an academically trained professional. In this light it seems misguided to follow the Marxists in setting an avant-garde of capitalists and mechanics against a rearguard of Latin-reading clerks. This alignment does little to clarify late medieval science and much to obscure the new interchanges fostered by print.

Divisions between town and gown, scholar and craftsman, university and workshop were diminished by printing in ways which I hope to trace. One point worth noting is that preachers and teachers were often more prepared to resort to publicity and help with vernacular translation than were guildsmen who were trained to be secretive about tricks of their trade. But one should not place too much emphasis on the issue of vernacular versus Latin, for this issue distracts attention from other important changes wrought by print. As Galileo himself says, the Book of Nature is written neither in Latin nor in the vernacular, but rather "it is written in the language of mathematics, and its characters are triangles, circles, and other geometric figures without which it is humanly impossible to understand a single word of it. . . ." <sup>19</sup>

This brings me back to the point I made earlier about a decreasing reliance on ambiguous words. The duplication of visual aids reduced time spent on slavish copying of tables, charts, and maps. It also provided a new basis for agreement about precisely observed natural phenomena. Corrupted texts and drifting records could be discarded and fresh ventures in collaborative data collection launched. Technical literature inherited from Alexandria was subjected to the same kind of scrutiny in the sixteenth century that the scriptural tradition was. Much as Erasmus set out to redo St. Jerome, so too Copernicus set out to emend Ptolemy. Both men launched revolutions they did not foresee. The fate of the medieval Vulgate, which was undercut by vernacular translations on the one hand and by polyglot versions on the other, was paralleled by the fate of Alexandrian textual traditions derived

*The beginning of Genesis from the Polyglot Bible published in Antwerp in 1571. Rare Book and Special Collections Division. LC-USZ62-65390, LC-USZ62-65391*

CAPVT PRIMVM.

CAPVT PRIMVM.

**N** principio fecit Deus celum & terrā: & terra erat inuisibilis et incōposita, et tenebra super abyssum: & spiritus Dei ferebatur super aquam. <sup>1</sup> Et dixit Deus, Fiat lux, & facta est lux. <sup>2</sup> Et vidit Deus lucē, quōd bona: & diuisit Deus inter lucem, & inter tenebras. <sup>3</sup> Et vocauit Deus lucē diē: & tenebras vocauit noctē: & factū est vespere: & factū est mane, dies vnus. <sup>4</sup> Et dixit Deus, Fiat firmamentū in medio aque: & sit diuisio inter aquā, & aquā. <sup>5</sup> Et fecit Deus firmamentū, & diuisit Deus inter aquā: quæ erat sub firmamento: & inter aquā, quæ super firmamentū. <sup>6</sup> Et vocauit Deus firmamentū celis: & vidit Deus quod bonū. <sup>7</sup> Et factū est vespere, & factū est mane, dies secundus. <sup>8</sup> Et dixit Deus, Cōgregetur aqua quæ sub celo, in cōgregationē vnā, & appareat arida. Et factū est ita, et cōgregata est aqua quæ sub celo, in cōgregationē suā: et apparuit arida. <sup>9</sup> Et vocauit Deus aridā, terrā: et cōgregationes aquarū, vocauit maria. Et vidit Deus quod bonū. <sup>10</sup> Et dixit Deus, Germinet terra herbā sani seminātis semē secundū genus et secundū similitudinē: & lignū pomiferū faciens fructū, cuius semen ipsius in ipso secundū genus super terrā. Et factū est ita. <sup>11</sup> Et protulit terra herbā sani seminātis semē secundū genus & secundū similitudinē: & lignū pomiferū faciens fructū, cuius semē eius in ipso, secundū genus super terrā. Et vidit Deus quod bonū. <sup>12</sup> Et factū est vespere, & factū est mane, dies tertius. <sup>13</sup> Et dixit Deus: Fiant luminaria in firmamento celi, vt luceant super terrā, ad diuidendum inter diē, & inter noctē: & sint in signa, & in tēpora, & in dies, & in annos. <sup>14</sup> Et sint in illuminationē in firmamento celi, vt luceant super terram. Et factū est ita. <sup>15</sup> Et fecit Deus duo luminaria magna: lunare magnū in principatus diē: & lunare minus in principatus noctū: et stellā. <sup>16</sup> Et posuit eas Deus in firmamento celi: vt luceant super terrā. <sup>17</sup> Et præesset diē, & noctē, & diuideret inter lucē et inter tenebras: et vidit Deus quod bonū. <sup>18</sup> Et factū est vespere, & factū est mane, dies quartus. <sup>19</sup> Et dixit Deus, Producat aqua reptilia animarū viuentiū, & volatilia volatilia super terrā, secundū firmamentū celi: & factū est ita.

## CAPUT PRIMVM.

**CAPITULUM PRIMUM.**  
**I**n principio creauit Deus cælum & terram. **E**t dixit Deus, Sit lux: & facta lux. **E**t uidit Deus lucem quòd esset bona: **E**t dixit Deus, Inter lucem & inter tenebras. **E**t appellauit Deus lucem diem, & tenebras uocauit noctem. **E**t fuit uespere & fuit mane dies unus. **E**t dixit Deus, Sit firmamentum in medio aquarum: & diuidat inter aquas & aquas. **E**t fecit Deus firmamentum: & diuidit inter aquas quæ erant sub firmamento: & inter aquas quæ erant super firmamentum: & fuit ita. **E**t uocauit Deus firmamentum cælum. **E**t fuit uespere & fuit mane, dies secundus. **E**t dixit Deus, Congregentur aquæ quæ sub cælo sunt, in locum unum, & appareat arida. **E**t fuit ita. **E**t uocauit Deus arida terram: & locum congregationis aquarum appellauit mariam. **E**t uidit Deus quòd esset bonum. **E**t dixit Deus, Germinet terra germinationem herbe, cuius silus fementis fementur: arboremque fructiferam faciat fructum secundum genus suum; cuius silus fementis in ipso sit fructus, & fuit ita. **E**t produxit terra germen herbe, cuius silus fementis fementur secundum genus suum; & arborem facientem fructus, cuius silus fementis in ipso secundum genus suum. **E**t uidit Deus quòd esset bonum. **E**t fuit uespere & fuit mane, dies tertius. **E**t dixit Deus, Sit luminaria in firmamento cæli, ut diuidant inter diem & noctem: & sint in signa & in tempora: & ut numerentur per dies & anni. **E**t sint in luminaria in firmamento cæli ad illuminandum super terram: & fuit ita. **E**t fecit Deus duo luminaria magna: lunare minus, ut dominaretur in dies: & lunare minus, ut dominaretur in noctes: & stellæ. **E**t posuit eas Deus in firmamento cæli ad illuminandum super terram: **E**t ut dominarentur in dies: & in noctes: & ut diuiderent inter lucem & tenebras: & uidit Deus quòd esset bonum. **E**t fuit uespere & fuit mane, dies quartus. **E**t dixit Deus, Serpentia quæ reptile animal uiuentis: & aueni quæ uolat super terram super faciem aeris firmamenti colorum.

[illegible]



from Ptolemy and Galen. But whereas polyglot editions made scripture (the words of God) seem more multiform, repeatable visual aids made nature (the works of God) seem more uniform. It can thus be argued that printing played a significant part in weakening confidence in scriptural revelation while strengthening trust in mathematical reasoning and man-made maps.

In presenting a case for the transforming powers of print I have had to consider objections from critics who are worried about monovariation interpretations and technological determinism. I believe it is possible to make a good case for multivariable explanations even while stressing the effects produced by a particular invention; clearly, the mixture of the many motives that converged in the printshop provided a much more powerful impetus than any single motive, whether spiritual or material, could have provided by itself. I have already noted how old missionary impulses were combined with new profit-seeking entrepreneurial drives. Presses also served to implement equally powerful drives for power and for fame. By providing rulers with their own independent propaganda machines, printing offered a way for them to extend their charisma and to emancipate their realms from dependence on clerical copyists and scribes. Among artisans and guildsmen printing acted by a kind of marvelous alchemy to transmute private interest into public good. It catered to both selfish and altruistic motives, encouraging instrument makers to serve the cause of public knowledge by making their inventions known and at the same time to serve themselves by attracting purchasers to their shops. In short, the use of early presses by Western Europeans was "overdetermined" by many different forces which had been incubating in the age of scribes. In a different cultural context, the same technology might have been used for different ends (as in Korea) or it might have been unwelcome and not used at all (as in many regions outside Europe where Western missionary presses were the first to be installed).

Such speculation suggests the importance of considering the institutional context of any technological innovation. Yet the fact remains that once presses were established in numerous European towns, the transforming powers of print did begin to take effect. And as far as I can see, the transformations that began in fifteenth-century Europe

are still under way even now.

Because contrary views have been expressed, it seems necessary to point out in conclusion that the process that began in the mid-fifteenth century has not ceased to gather momentum in the age of the computer printout and the television guide. Since the advent of movable type, an enhanced capacity to store and retrieve, preserve and transmit has kept pace with (and has perhaps outstripped) an enhanced capacity to create and destroy. The somewhat chaotic appearance of modern Western culture owes as much, if not more, to the duplicative powers of print as it does to the harnessing of new powers in the past century. A continuous accumulation of printed materials has certain disadvantages. Each generation of artists seems to suffer from an increasingly oppressive "burden of the past." Among scholars, problems of overload have become acute. The voracious appetite of Chronos was feared in the past; a monstrous capacity to disgorge poses more of a threat at present. Still the capacity to scan accumulated records also confers certain modest advantages. We may examine how our predecessors read various portents and auguries and compare their prophecies with what actually occurred. We may thus discern over the past century or so a tendency to write off by premature obituaries the very problems that successive generations have had to confront.

This impulse to end tales that are still unfolding owes much to the prolongation of nineteenth-century historical schemes, especially those of Hegel and Marx which point dialectical conflicts toward some ultimate goal. Hegelian grand designs do not allow for the possibility of an indefinite prolongation of fundamentally conflicting trends—of a continuing opposition of thesis against antithesis with no synthesis in sight. Yet we still seem to be experiencing the contradictory effects of a process which fanned the flames of religious zeal and bigotry even while it fostered a new concern for ecumenical concord and toleration, a process which more permanently fixed linguistic and national divisions even while it created a cosmopolitan Commonwealth of Learning and extended communications networks which now encompass the entire world.

At the very least, I hope my book will indicate the premature character of prevailing historical

grand designs by showing that the gulf separating the age of scribes from that of printers has not yet been fully probed. The continuous, unevenly phased,

and persistently accelerating process of recovery and innovation that began in the second half of the fifteenth century still remains to be described.

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# *The Origins of Early American*

by Edwin Wolf 2nd

Printing is all around us, yet, except to that tiny minority of the typographical elite who care about the quality of paper, the aesthetics of type, and a suitable, well-proportioned format, today's printing shop is hidden and virtually anonymous. The shops run the gamut from the manufacturing plants of newspapers with mechanical monsters which compose and print to the hole-in-the-wall with a hand-press and menus, invitations, handbills, tickets, business cards, and the other throwaways of our society in its usually grimy window. Editors and designers are hired hands. Book and magazine publishers, far from anonymous, rarely do their own printing. The printers of most of the substantial material we read use the type and adopt the format they are told to, print what they are paid to print—although they sometimes on their own produce Christmas booklets for their customers—and have no part in the distribution of the result.

Every day everyone handles dozens of discrete objects which were printed in shops large and small. A world or even a village without an inflow of printed material is difficult to imagine. In the less industrialized countries a government printing shop or one subsidized by the government prints proclamations, laws, regulations, identity cards, tax forms, and the other paper formal clothes of nationhood. And if somehow the paper tentacles of administra-

tion have not penetrated a mountain hamlet or jungle outpost, that most ubiquitous and seductive printed rectangle, paper money, will have.

In small towns, in a few urban neighborhoods, the printer is still a man-of-all-work. He prints notices for the American Legion post, advertisements for the Bijou movie theater, letterheads and envelopes, a weekly newspaper, a pamphlet eulogy of a worthy tradesman which the family pays for, and very occasionally a small book of a local, celebratory nature. The circulation and impact of his work are limited.

The pioneer presses in the New World were such printing and publishing enclaves until, by the mid-eighteenth century, a postal system in the British North American colonies, organized and chiefly operated by printers, permitted wide intercolonial circulation of newspapers and pamphlets. By the eighteenth century some printers had a multifaceted output. In Philadelphia during the 1730s Andrew Bradford and Benjamin Franklin issued their own newspapers, printed official forms, laws, paper money, and other provincial documents on commission, did presswork of all kinds on order for individuals and church and civic bodies, printed legal and commercial forms for sale at retail, and published on their own account. Other, but by no means all, early American printers were as inclusive in their productions; but all needed three essentials for the establishment of a printing shop: an experienced master printer or an ingenious Yankee such as the prototypographer of Massachusetts, funds to buy a press as well as its accessories and supplies, and a market, captive or free, for the productions of the press.

These essentials made possible the first printing in the Western Hemisphere. There is a documentary

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# Printing Shops

reference, but no surviving piece of printing, to indicate that one Esteban Martín came to Mexico as early as 1534 to set up a press. If indeed he did, it was at the instance of Fray Juan Zumárraga, bishop of Mexico, who saw a need for the basic handbooks of Catholicism to be printed so that the priests could effectively go about the business of converting the Mexicans.

Something more permanent than the elusive Martín was obviously necessary. In 1539—presumably at the instance of Bishop Zumárraga and the viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza—a well-established printer of Seville named Juan Cromberger entered into an agreement with another master printer, Juan Pablos, or, in his native tongue Giovanni Paoli. It is noteworthy that several of the earliest printers in America were Italians, as the earliest printers in Italy and Spain had been Germans. In such a fashion did printing spread on both sides of the Atlantic, carried to new locations by men trained in older printing centers, Massachusetts being an exception.

Pablos went to Mexico with his wife, a pressman, and a black slave to operate a printing shop there as a Cromberger branch office. Indeed, the earliest books issued in Mexico City declared in their imprints that they were printed “en casa de Juan Cromberger,” an outstanding example of absentee ownership. In accordance with his contract, a very exacting one, Pablos managed the press on the owner's behalf for ten years. At the end of that time he bought the business, secured from the viceroy a ten-year monopoly such as Cromberger had had, and after 1548 put out books in his own name. He in turn in 1550 brought over Antonio de Espinosa to work as a punch-cutter and typesetter. Eight years later, Pablos's exclusive privilege having run

out, Espinosa, too, began to print on his own.

This kind of succession was a major factor in the establishment of new presses in both North and South America. To digress chronologically and point out a parallel to the situation in Mexico, let us look briefly again at Franklin. After three printers had died or left within the space of about a year, the authorities in South Carolina through Franklin secured the services of Lewis Timothy (born a Huguenot Timothée), a journeyman in his shop. He went to Charleston with a press and type supplied by Franklin and a partnership agreement stipulating that the latter would pay one-third of the expenses and receive one-third of the profit. Upon her husband's untimely death, widow Timothy took over the management of the press and, without the benefit of a supportive Women's Lib movement, so ably ran it that, according to Franklin, “she not only brought up reputably a Family of Children, but at the Expiration of the Term was able to purchase of me the Printing House and establish her Son in it.” Such was the pattern of other successful printing shops as well.

Franklin had known censorship when his brother James was jailed for having printed in his *New-England Courant* a satiric passage offensive to the magistrates of Boston. For varying periods of time the Puritans in Massachusetts, the Quakers in Pennsylvania, and civil authorities elsewhere succeeded in controlling the press. In Spanish America long-lasting and absolute control lay in the hands of the viceroy and the bishop, while behind and above them loomed the black hoods of the Inquisition. Nothing was printed which did not receive a license. Whatever the lay or clerical powers wanted printed was. Until well into the eighteenth century there was no newspaper in Spanish America. Political

pamphlets attacking the government or the church did not exist. Since next to the extraction of gold and silver the conversion of heathens was the most pressing business of the Spanish overlords, much of the business of the press consisted of providing handbooks for the proselytizing fathers.

In addition to religious books, the Spanish American press of course did government printing and provided what legal forms were needed by the notaries. As a result the press remained almost an adjunct of church and state. The earliest book printed was a *Doctrina Christiana* in Spanish and Mexican of 1539, a copy of which was known in 1877 but has since disappeared. There is nothing more basic to the rites of Catholicism than the *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria*, *Credo*, and a simple catechism, and hence the *Doctrina* which included them was printed with various additions bilingually and often in many parts of the world penetrated by the Spanish missionary orders. The next product of Pablos's press was the *Manuel de Adultos* of 1540, only two leaves of which survive in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. Then, an act of God in the shape of an earthquake in Guatemala caused the printer to interrupt his series of basic Catholic texts and issue a news release giving an account of this earthshaking event. No copy of that has turned up.

This seems like a slim output for an experienced printer, but when we read about what are called the "start-up" problems of great American corporations, who thus apologize for something less than brilliant financial performances in their annual reports, we can excuse Pablos—and other pioneers of printing whose initial production was meager and often interrupted. By 1544, however, Pablos's production was on line. That year the shop issued *Dotrina Breue*, the rules of Christian conduct, compiled and paid for by Bishop Zumárraga. The title page is dated 1543, but the colophon is 1544. It is the earliest American-printed book of which perfect copies are known, and, curiously enough, it is one of the commonest of the Mexican incunabula. The *Dotrina* was followed, also in 1544, by Johann Gerson's *Tripartito del Christianissimo*, the first American illustrated book, with a woodcut on the verso of the title of a kneeling bishop being crowned by the Virgin Mary; Dionisio Rickel's *Compendio breue*, directions for arranging religious processions; and another compilation of the *Doctrina Christiana*, this one by Fray Pedro Córdoba. The

heavily religious character of the earliest publications is underlined by the appearance of the *Regla christiana breue* in 1547 and another *Doctrina Christiana* with a Mexican translation by the Dominicans in 1549. The latter was reprinted twice the following year, being, as the colophon stated, "of great usefulness and profit for the salvation of souls and specially for the natives of this land so that they be established and strengthened in our holy Catholic faith."

It would serve little purpose to continue to list works as they came off Pablos's press. Suffice it to say that as the press matured, the quality and variety of its publications increased. And so they did elsewhere when printing became an established asset in a city's life. An academic community of churchmen helped to speed this process. The University of Mexico having been founded in 1553, the pioneer printer became, in a manner of speaking, the first university press in the New World. He put out four works by the professor of scholastic theology, Fray Alonso de la Veracruz: in 1554 the *Recognitio Summularum*, a treatise of logic, and the *Dialectica resolutio* which was Aristotelian commentary; in 1556 a—literally—weighty book of 675 pages, *Speculum coniugiorum*, concerning the problems of marriage; and in 1557 *Phisica Speculatio*, a work of science. Other books of that decade, Fray Alonso de Molina's *Vocabulario en la lengua Castellana y Mexicana* of 1555 and Fray Mathurin Gilberti's *Thesoro Spiritual en Lengua de Mechuacan* of 1558, were the forerunners of many dictionaries, grammars, and prayer books which the hard-working missionary fathers wrote. If I seem to have dwelt in too much detail upon Pablos and his Mexico City press, it is merely because, with our Yankee pride, we overlook the fact that his accomplishment in the second decade of the press's operation far exceeded that of the Cambridge, Massachusetts, press in a like period of time.

It took more than a generation for printing to migrate from Mexico to Peru, the other major viceroyalty in the Western Hemisphere. And the migration occurred according to the most frequently repeated pattern. Pablos died in 1560 and three

*From Juan de Zumárraga, Dotrina breue (Mexico City: Juan Pablos, 1544), the earliest surviving book from the first American press. Rare Book and Special Collections Division.*



Doctrina breuemuy p  
uerbosa delas cosas q ptiene  
cen ala fe catbolica y a nra cri  
stianidad en estillo llano y aco  
muni inteliqencia. Copuesta por  
el Reuerendissimo. S. do fray  
Juañ de marroga pimer obpo  
de Mexico. Dele cõseio de su ma  
gestad. Yr pssa la misma actu  
dad de Mexico por su mado  
y a su costa. Año de M. d. xliij.

years later his shop was taken over from the widow by their son-in-law, Pedro de Ocharte, whose most ambitious undertaking was the first lawbook printed in America, Vasco de Puga's *Provisiões cédulas Instruções de su Magestad* of 1563. Ocharte was joined by another of the immigrant Italian printers, Antonio Ricardo. In 1578 the latter issued a native vocabulary in partnership with Ocharte and the same year a commentary on Aristotle on his own; but with Espinosa, Ocharte, and a later arrival, Pedro Balli, all competing for a limited amount of business, Ricardo went south.

Red tape is not a new invention; the Spaniards nurtured this official convolvulus to achieve a spectacular growth. Much as the authorities in Peru looked forward to the establishment of a printing shop in Lima, they were not willing to do anything rashly. It took Ricardo from the spring to the autumn of 1580 to get from Mexico to Peru because he was an alien, and then it was four years before he heard that his request for permission to have a press had reached Spain and been granted. In 1584 work was started on a *Doctrina Christiana, y Catecismo para Instrucción de los Indios*, but before it was completed a royal decree came concerning the shift to the Gregorian calendar. This took precedence; printing on the *Doctrina* was interrupted. The honor of being the first issue of the Peruvian press went to a two-leaf ordinance, *Pragmatica sobre los diez dias del año*, the only copy of which is in the John Carter Brown Library.

There was no leitmotiv to the early output of the Lima press. As in Mexico, Catholic handbooks, Indian linguistic manuals, laws proclaimed by the viceroy, notarial forms, and works of piety were the fare offered to a public which must have consisted almost solely of clerics, a handful of trained Indians, and viceregal officials. No popular audience existed.

It is a bit chastening for us Norteamericanos, before leaving Spanish America for more familiar parts, to note that before the first press arrived in New England, Alonso de Villegas Selvago's *Libro de la vida y milagros de nuestro señor Jesu Christo en dos lenguas* was published in Juli, then in a province of Peru, now in Bolivia, in 1612. It was printed by Francisco del Canto, the second printer to establish himself in Lima, and the book may have been printed there, although issued by the Jesuits of Juli. In another jurisdiction of the Spaniards, New Grenada, in what is now Ecuador, an unbelievably

ambitious volume appeared from the press of Domingo de la Iglesias at Cuencas in 1626-27: Fray Pedro Simon's 700-page folio *Primera parte de las noticias historicas de las conquistas de tierra firme en las Indias Occidentales*. It would be exactly a century before a volume of comparable size, Samuel Willard's *Compleat Body of Divinity* of 1726, was printed in British America.

It did take a while for the printing press to get a good foundation on the stern and rockbound coast of New England. As far as is known no master printer came with the first press and equipment to Massachusetts. In fact, the beginnings of printing in what is now the United States are shrouded in a shifting fog of a few facts and many surmises. There was no doubt that, with a gradually prospering community, much of it literate, a government of the self-elected elect dominated by educated ministers, and a college, a market for native printed works existed. It was not quite the "publish or perish" mania which infected American academia in our times, but it was, until the Matherses' itch to write, a modest desire to appear in print. Let it be said, however, that there was no place on the American continents where a sermon was more frequently given the immortality of print than in Boston.

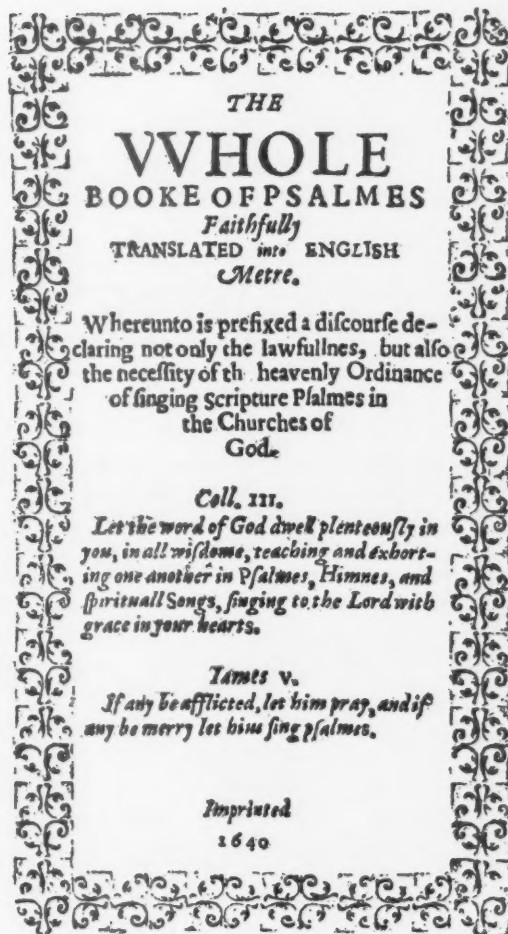
To return to the pioneer press in Cambridge, Massachusetts, where it was set up, it is a fact that a well-to-do clergyman-investor, Jose Glover, bought all the necessities for the establishment of a press and brought them with him in 1638 on board ship to Boston. Glover died on the voyage; it is possible that an experienced printer he had hired also died; there was none on the vessel when it arrived and none in New England. Steven Daye, a locksmith who came over in Glover's employ, probably assembled the press, and his son Matthew learned how to operate it. In 1639 there was printed a Freeman's Oath, a form of loyalty oath required of an economically, theologically, and morally screened man, "being by Gods providence an Inhabitant, and Freeman, within the Jurisdiction of this Commonwealth." The freeman acknowledged that he was subject to the government of Massachusetts, would support it and preserve its liberties, would not plot against it, and when called upon to vote would do it as he should judge "may best conduce and tend to the publicke weal of the body, without respect of persons, or favor of any man." A broadside, *The Oath of a Freeman*, was recorded in an 1887 cata-



log of the British Museum (now Library), but ten years later it had disappeared. The pioneer bibliographer of American imprints, Charles Evans, and many enthusiasts thereafter, believed that this will-o'-the-wisp was the first fruit of the New England press. Although George Parker Winship wondered if it would not turn out to be one of the many oaths printed for London companies, he did not emphasize that the catalog description stated the broadside was printed in black letter. There is no indication whatsoever that in the early days any black-letter type existed in New England.

A Freeman's Oath was followed, according to the skimpy but specific information contained in John Winthrop's Journal, by "an almanack made for New England by Mr William Peirce Mariner." No copy of that has survived either. That any early almanac published anywhere has survived seems almost a miracle, and the fact that the majority of those listed in Pollard and Redgrave's *Short-Title Catalogue* and of the ones extant printed in Cambridge, Massachusetts, between 1646 and 1665 are unique underlines the chanciness of survival. The earliest Massachusetts almanac of which a copy is known is the unique one for 1646, lacking its title, in the Huntington Library. It may have borne the imprint of Matthew Daye as printer and Hezekiah Usher, the bookselling merchant of Boston, as did the also unique *Almanack for the Year of Our Lord 1647*, also in the Huntington Library. Daye printed these ephemeral little booklets until 1648. He died in 1649, and Samuel Green took over the press, his first production being the almanac for that year. The almanac was virtually the only very early New England publication of a nonreligious character destined for a popular market.

We are inclined to forget the importance of the almanac to people centuries ago. Apart from the weather forecasts—and Abraham Weatherwise and the prolific tribe of prognosticators may have been no more erroneous than today's instrumented weather bureaus—and apart from the records of the moon's cycles, sunrisings and sunsettings, and movements of the planets and constellations, the almanac met a more fundamental need. When we want to date a letter, check an appointment, or merely locate ourselves in time, we look at the date on our watch, open our pocket datebook, or glance at a wall or desk calendar. The almanac was the only calendar printed in the seventeenth and eigh-



From *The Whole Booke of Psalmes*, ([Cambridge, Massachusetts, Matthew Daye?] 1640), known as the "Bay Psalm Book," the earliest surviving book printed in British America. Rare Book and Special Collections Division.

teenth centuries. It was an almanac which first came off the press in Philadelphia; Portsmouth, New Hampshire; Wilmington, Delaware; and Lexington, Kentucky, to inaugurate printing in the three colonies and the Kentucky Territory. Never underestimate the importance of an almanac.

Following the Cambridge almanac for 1639 or 1640 mentioned by Winthrop came *The Whole Booke of Psalmes Faithfully Translated into Eng-*

lish *Metre*, better known as the Bay Psalm Book, and in the uninflationary past notorious for fetching at public auction the highest price ever paid for a printed book. It was composed by a number of New England divines who, "considering that their Churches enjoy'd the other Ordinances of Heaven in their Scriptural Purity, were willing that the Ordinance of The Singing of Psalms, so should be restored among them, unto a Share in that Purity." The poet-translators also laid claim to a knowledge of Hebrew and a desire to achieve an authentic translation which somehow got lost in the arthritic quality of the verse. A sample suffices to make the point:

All-blest are men upright of way:  
walk in Iehovahs law who do.  
Blest such as doe his records keepe:  
with their whole heart him seek also.

It may sound better put to music.

It is noteworthy that, although the Psalms in verse and apt for singing were available in numerous versions, notably that of Sternhold and Hopkins which was bound with most Bibles of the seventeenth century, the New England saints felt the need for their own translation free from the associative overtones of the Church of England.

As in Spanish America what was printed was what the lay and church authorities wanted printed, so too in Cambridge, with a strong academic infusion. The second almanac-maker, Samuel Danforth, was a Harvard tutor, and other college men succeeded him. From 1642 on the Cambridge press issued at commencement time a broadside setting forth the theses for that year headed by the names of the graduates, and from 1645 a smaller sheet with the *Quaestiones* of those who went on for a higher degree. The college connection, begun in 1641 when Henry Dunster, the first president of Harvard, married widow Glover, was made more solid when she died two years later and the press was moved into the president's new house in Harvard Yard, and it was finally consolidated when the college took the press over completely upon Dunster's resignation in 1655. Matthew Daye operated the press until his death and in addition to the almanacs, theses, and Bay Psalm Book printed two official publications. "By order of the Commissioners for the united Colonies," he issued in 1645 a seven-page *Declaration* which was the English settlers' justification for warring against the Narragan-

sett Indians and in 1648, "according to order of the General Court," *The Book of the General Lawes and Libertyes*, his last work.

Samuel Green, like Matthew Daye a self-taught printer, picked up where his predecessor left off. His first book was also official, *A Platform of Church Discipline* of 1649, the articles of belief of the Congregationalists of New England which was published "To be presented to the Churches and Generall Court for their consideration and acceptance." Session laws, catechisms, including the famous one of John Cotton, *Spiritual Milk for Boston Babes In either England. Drawn out of the Breasts of both Testaments for their souls nourishment. But may be of like use to any Children*, a revision of the Bay Psalm Book, and sermons—these were the uncontroversial products of Green's industry.

A depression of sorts hit New England in the middle 1640s, and Edward Winslow went back to England to see if he could raise funds in the form of working capital and greater credit. His great success was in stirring up interest in the propagation of the gospel and the Christianizing of the Indians and in securing backing for these endeavors. Happily, John Eliot, minister at Roxbury, knew just how to go about spreading the gospel and, incidentally, how to get funds for the limping Cambridge press. With the help of a frontiersman, Thomas Stanton, Eliot translated into the Indian language a catechism, or primer, which was printed in 1654. No copy has survived. The year before it appeared, the enthusiastic missionary had written to the man who collected the money for good works in New England, "I have had a long-ing desire (if it were the will of God) that our Indian Language might be sanctified by the Translation of the Holy Scriptures into it." By 1655 he had printed *Genesis* and started on *Matthew*, but, as he then reported, "our progress is slow, and hands short." A single copy only of *Genesis*, that in King's College, London, is known. Unlike the far better known Indian Bible of 1661–63, the trial printing of the first book of the Bible has an English interlineation in small italic type. With this start there was a burst of Indian language publications which rivaled the output in Mexico and Peru, at least as long as the colony's sole press remained in Cambridge.

As noted, printing usually spread by the removal



of a master printer from one place to another. Marmaduke Johnson, Samuel Green's partner in the printing of the Indian Bible, in 1674 obtained permission from the General Court, who gave it grudgingly, to move across the river to Boston. He died shortly and John Foster, who bought his press, in 1675 became the first printer in that city. As Harvard's and the English patrons' interest in the original press petered out, Samuel Green hung on; his son Samuel moved to Boston, where prospects looked better. The family straddled the Charles River until 1691, when Bartholomew Green, Samuel junior's brother and successor to his press, abandoned Cambridge and firmly established himself in the capital city. The dynasty of Greens carried on for decades thereafter. We cannot say that they were responsible for the first newspaper, for on September 25, 1690, Richard Pierce for Benjamin Harris put out the first number of *Publick Occurrences Both Foreign and Domestic*. The first number was the last number; no license for the paper had been obtained, so the governor and council suppressed it. The Greens were better connected. When Bartholomew Green issued the *Boston News-Letter* on April 24, 1704, the first continuing news periodical in America was established.

It is significant that the managing director of the paper was the Boston postmaster, John Campbell. Management of the post office played a major role in the later success of Andrew Bradford's *American Mercury* in Philadelphia and in ensuring the wide circulation of Franklin's competing *Pennsylvania Gazette* after he replaced Bradford in that position.

The Greens did well everywhere they went and they went many places. Printer's ink was in their blood. Timothy Green, the son of Samuel Green of Boston and nephew of Bartholomew, printed in Boston at the beginning of the eighteenth century, but in 1714, at the instance of the Connecticut General Assembly, moved to New London. Timothy junior, when old and skilled enough, formed a long-lasting partnership with Samuel Kneeland in Boston, and in 1752 he moved to New London to succeed his father. Bartholomew junior learned the trade under his father and printed in Boston thereafter with several partners until 1751, when he took his press to Halifax, Nova Scotia. He died shortly and no product of that first Canadian printing house with his name is known, but his former partner John Bushell promptly went down east to

take over Green's establishment.

The dynasty went on. A third Timothy was taught printing by his uncle in New London and moved on, first to Norwich and then to Dresden, Vermont. Another son of the first Timothy to print in New London, Jonas Green, took up the offer of the colony of Maryland to become public printer at a handsome salary and moved to Annapolis in 1740. His widow, Anne Catherine Green, carried on the press after Jonas's death in 1767, and their sons and grandsons continued it.

The Greens never seem to have been the first printers in a colony or a town, but they were always sturdy seconds or thirds who outlasted their predecessors. Long before the Green family came to Annapolis, the elusive William Nuthead operated a printing press in Maryland. Nuthead made his first American appearance at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1682. The climate was unfavorable. Eleven years earlier Governor William Berkeley had reported back to England: "I thank God we have not free schools nor printing; and I hope we shall not have these hundred years. For learning has brought disobedience and heresy, and sects into the world; and printing has divulged them and libels against the government. God keep us from both." The governor and council of Virginia were determined to assist the Almighty. When Nuthead, with the financial assistance of a plantation owner, John Buckner, set up his press and printed the previous years' session laws, they were hauled before the authorities and "ordered to enter into a bond in £100 not to print anything hereafter, until his majesty's pleasure be known." Charles II let his pleasure be known; no one was to use a press for anything. No fragment of the earliest Virginia printing exists.

Maryland promptly welcomed Nuthead. There exists a form filled out in manuscript in the name of a resident of St. Mary's County, dated August 31, 1685, which Lawrence C. Wroth recorded to give Nuthead the honor of being the first to print south of Cambridge, beating out Bradford in Philadelphia by a few months. In the colonial archives there are entries indicating that he did work for the Maryland Assembly in 1685 and thereafter. The earliest survivor of this work is a unique copy in the Public Record Office of *The Address of the Representatives of Their Majesties Protestant Subjects, in the Province of Maryland Assembled*, printed August 26, 1689, at St. Mary's City. Furthermore, another

*Kalendarium Pennsilvaniense;*  
OR,  
America's Messinger.  
BEING AN  
**ALMANACK**  
For the Year of Grace, 1686.

Wherein is contained both the English & Forreign Account. the Motions of the Planets through the Signs, with the Luminaries, Conjunctions, Aspects, Eclipses; the rising, Southing and setting of the Moon, with the time when she passeth by, or is with the most eminent fixed Stars: Sun rising and setting, and the time of High-Water at the City of Philadelphia, &c.

With Chronologies, and many other Notes, Rules, and Tables, very fitting for every man to know & have: all which is accomodated to the Longitude of the Province of Pennsylvania, and Latitude of 40 Degr. north, with a Table of Houses for the same, which may indifferently serve New-England, New-York, East & West Jersey, Maryland, and most parts of Virginia.

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By *SAMUEL ATKINS.*  
Student in the Mathematicks and Astrology.

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*And the Stars in their Courses fought against Sclera, Judg. 5. 29.*

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Printed and Sold by *William Bradford*, sold also by the Author and *H. Murrey* in Philadelphia, and *Philip Richards* in New-York; 1685.

product of the anti-Catholic uprising which wrested control of Maryland from Lord Baltimore, *The Declaration of the Reasons and Motives for the Present Appearing in Arms of Their Majesties Protestant Subjects*, was reprinted in London also in 1689, according to the imprint, from an original from Nuthead's press. He died in 1695; his wife Dinah took over the shop, received a license to print, and moved to Annapolis. Five blank forms are all that are left of her career as "the first woman operator of a printing office in America."

One might have thought that under the liberal charter of Penn's colony the lot of a printer would have been free and easy. An open expression of opinion in print was, however, not in the minds of the weighty Friends of Philadelphia when they welcomed William Bradford and his printing equipment in 1685. But he came with the kind of credentials Philadelphians have always liked: he was connected with a person of known and respected background. Bradford had been an apprentice of Andrew Sowle, long the London printer for the Society of Friends. Under Sowle he had worked on William Penn's 1682 *Frame of the Government for the Province of Pennsylvania*. Furthermore, he had just married his master's daughter and carried with him a letter of recommendation from George Fox, the founder of Quakerism.

His announcement to a potential public appeared in the first production of his press late in 1685, Samuel Atkins's *Kalendarium Pennsilvaniense, or America's Messenger. Being an Almanack For the Year of Grace, 1686*. It is worth recording again, for it is the earliest unadorned statement of a printer in the Americas looking for business.

Hereby understand that after great Charge and Trouble, I have brought that great Art and Mystery of *Printing* into this Part of *America*, believing it may be of great service to you in several respects, hoping to find Encouragement, not only in this Almanack, but what else I shall enter upon for the use and service of the Inhabitants of these Parts.

After apologizing for the inadequacy of his fonts of type, Bradford went on to the potatoes of almost any early press when the meaty output was lean.

*From Samuel Atkins, Kalendarium Pennsilvaniense, (Philadelphia: William Bradford, 1685), the earliest book printed in the Middle Colonies. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.*

For those who needed them he proposed "to print blank Bills, Bonds, Letters of Attorney, Indentures, Warrants, &c." It is noteworthy that, to refer once again forward to Franklin, he too mentioned in his *Autobiography* this staple of most small-volume printers. "I now open'd a little Stationer's Shop," he wrote, speaking of the early days of his career. "I had in it Blanks of all Sorts the correctest that ever appear'd among us, being assisted in that by my Friend Breintnal." Throughout the United States, it may well be that the earliest issue of any pioneer press was a heretofore unidentified legal form. There is no corpus of Bradford's promised blanks, the only one recorded, a New York oath of allegiance of 1687, being extant in a sales catalog reproduction.

The almanac also states in circumstantial fashion what I hinted at in speaking of the ubiquity of that species of publication. Atkins in his address to the reader explained his reason for compiling the almanac:

I having journied in and through several places, not only in this Province, but likewise in Maryland, and else where, and the People generally complaining, that they scarcely knew how the Time passed, nor that they hardly knew the day of Rest, or Lords Day, when it was, for the want of a Diary, or Day Book, which we call an Almanack.

Control of the press was as complete as it was in Spanish America and in Massachusetts. Poor Atkins in his chronology had included the date of the founding of Pennsylvania by "Lord Penn." He and Bradford were promptly hauled before the Governor's Council; the offending words were blocked out with em quads; a correction was printed to read "William Penn, Proprietor and Governor 6 years;" and the printer was ordered "not to print anything but what shall have lycence from ye Councill." That was only Bradford's first brush with censorship. Before he received the warning he had begun printing Thomas Budd's *Good Order Established in Pennsylvania & New Jersey in America*, which also appeared in 1685 but without any place of printing or printer's name in the imprint. Budd had written some things in England upon which the Quakers had looked with disfavor; Bradford did not want to take a chance on another rebuke.

His next two publications in 1686 were orthodox and supported by subvention: *An Epistle from John Burnyeat to Friends in Pennsylvania*, "which for convenience and dispatch was thought good to be printed, and so ordered by the Quarterly Meeting," and its *General Epistle Given forth by the People*

of the Lord. Like the productions of other pioneer presses little has survived from the earliest years. There is, indeed, a broadside almanac for 1687, and the record of a pocket almanac for the following year, both compiled by Daniel Leeds. No copy of the latter is known, for it was suppressed by the censorious Quarterly Meeting because there were "some particulars in it that are too light and airy for one that is a Christian indeed." What would they have thought of the common-folk wit of Poor Richard, who half a century later created a best-seller by including such aphorisms as:

You cannot pluck roses without fear of thorns,  
Nor enjoy a fair wife without danger of horns.

Neither a Fortress nor a Maidenhead will hold out long  
after they begin to parley.

A Ship under sail and a big-bellied Woman,  
Are the handsomest two things that can be seen common.

Bradford stayed out of trouble until 1689, when he printed what would seem to have been an innocuous piece, the charter of the province. This time the governor objected, not to the content of the pamphlet but because no permission had been obtained to print it. Before the council Bradford complained: "it is my imploy, my trade and calling, and that by which I get my living, to print; and if I may not print such things as come to my hand, which are innocent, I cannot live." To no avail; he had to post a bond not to print again without a license. On the other hand, the Friends Meeting put him on salary and agreed to take two hundred copies of anything they ordered printed.

A flood of doctrinal and argumentative pamphlets on behalf of the Quakers began to flow from his press. Things were going well until George Keith, the author of many of these, became disenchanted with Quakerism as he saw it practiced in Pennsylvania. Condemned by the Philadelphia Meeting, Keith wrote *An Appeal from the Twenty Eight Judges to the Spirit of Truth*, which Bradford printed in 1692. This time the printer was arrested and his press and type seized. The account of his trial is an Alice in Wonderland tale with the Quakers doing unto Bradford as had been done unto them before they came to America. In many ways it resembled the 1670 trial of William Penn and William Mead for preaching in public, when the mayor acting as judge suborned the jury to get a verdict of guilty. William Bradford left Philadelphia.

Bradford was lucky. Penn was unlucky. A rumor that the proprietor was, if not actually a Catholic himself, at least a papist sympathizer resulted in King William's replacement of Penn by a royal governor in 1692. Benjamin Fletcher, therefore, was sent over to administer both New York and Pennsylvania and arrived in America in the summer of that year. On his initial visit to Philadelphia in April 1693, Fletcher reviewed the Bradford case, not without prejudice, ordered the impounded printing material released, and thereupon appointed Bradford official printer in New York.

The New-York Historical Society, which very recently made a great coup by acquiring at one time eleven pieces printed by Bradford in 1693 in New York, is not at this early stage in the digestion of its acquisitions willing to state what was the first thing, broadside, pamphlet, or form, which a happy Billy Bradford put through his press. This is a stage aside; I said Billy Bradford only because everyone insists on calling the founder of the Library Company "Ben" although there is not one scintilla of evidence that during his lifetime anyone so addressed him. His parents and siblings, if usage be a guide, would have called him by his full name or "Benny."

To return to New York, Bradford did well, for at first almost everything printed emanated from the governor's office. Almost everything, for to get back at the Pennsylvanians for the way they had treated him he published John Phillip's doggerel satire, *A Paraphrastical Exposition on a Letter From a Gentleman in Philadelphia To his Friend in Boston Concerning a certain Person who compared himself to Mordecai*, that "certain Person" being Samuel Jennings, one of the weighty Quakers who had tried Bradford. That first year in New York he also printed an account of the trial, *New-England's Spirit of Persecution Transmitted to Pennsylvania*. In the golden age of Wilberforce Eames and Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach these pamphlets were considered the first two pieces of New York printing.

With so many 1693 New York imprints now available at the Historical Society, perhaps a re-study should be made. It may be that the unique unrecorded *Speech made by His Excellency Benjamin Fletcher, Captain General* to the New York Assembly on October 24, 1692, will turn out to have priority. Or it may be the known *Act for Re-*

*straining and Punishing Privateers and Pyrates* passed on September 10, 1692. Or there is a possibility that the first issue of Bradford's press was *A Narrative Of an Attempt by the French of Canada upon the Mohaques Country*, an account of Governor Fletcher's successful expedition for the relief of Schenectady, a copy of which reached London as early as September 26, 1693. Not all the pieces in the Historical Society's bonanza are challengers, but they certainly underline the manner in which the governor dominated the early output of the press. In no place where a press was established in the seventeenth century was so much printed in the first year, which can be attributed to the fact that Bradford did not start up a business *de novo*; he merely moved. Besides, the governor was paying the bill. Has it been noted that the first foreign language publication in British America was the Harvard broadside theses in Latin, and the first in a modern European tongue, other than English, Bradford's Dutch version of one of the governor's 1693 proclamations?

William Bradford never went back to Philadelphia, but his son Andrew set himself up there in 1712 to found a long line of printers who carried on their trade in that city until well into the nineteenth century.

There was a pattern to the pioneer printing in the Americas during the seventeenth century. Every press in its developing years printed almost exclusively what the intertwined powers of church and state in each jurisdiction demanded and in most cases paid for. There was little difference in attitude toward the press on the part of the Catholics in Spanish America, the Puritans in Massachusetts, or the Quakers in Pennsylvania. Only in Maryland and New York were the civil authorities the sole dominant influence. Censorship was ubiquitous. Yet everywhere the government of province or colony saw the printer as a conduit, the means of getting administrative actions known. Freedom of the press came in the eighteenth century as a result of economic development, an increase in the number of printers creating a competitive market, and the rise of the less religiously orthodox generation of the Age of Reason. In a 1731 essay in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Franklin, a prime example of that generation, wrote: "Printers are educated in the Belief, that when Men differ in Opinion, both Sides ought equally to have the Advantage of being heard by the Publick; and that when Truth and Error have fair Play, the former is always an overmatch for the latter."



# Some Recent Publications of the Library of Congress<sup>1</sup>

*Children's Books, 1977: A List of Books for Preschool through Junior High School Age.* 1978. 20 p. 90 cents. Compiled by Virginia Haviland, head of the Children's Book Section, and a committee of experts from the Washington Metropolitan area. Dividing their selections into such categories as biography, folklore, and picture books, the compilers provide a generous annotation, the price, the number of pages, the publisher, and the recommended grade level for each book.

*Children's Literature: A Guide to Reference Sources.* Second Supplement. 1977. 413 p. \$7.75. Compiled by Virginia Haviland with the assistance of Margaret N. Coughlan, Children's Book Section. This volume, appearing five years after the first supplement, covers publications issued from 1970 through 1974. The 929 annotations indicate the relative value, usefulness, and appeal of the items described. In addition to works in English, the "National Studies" section lists publications from Western and Eastern Europe, the Near East, Africa, Asia, Latin America, and French Canada. Among the numerous illustrations are pages from a Russian alphabet book, a Japanese picture book, and an 1895 *Wide Awake Pleasure Book*. Indexed.

*Folklife and the Federal Government: A Guide to Activities, Resources, Funds, and Services.* 1978. 147 p. \$2.75. By Linda Coe. The first publication of the American Folklife Center, this guide to fifty-five agencies includes information on financial and other federal assistance, employment and research opportunities, and archival and reference services. A mailing address is provided for each entry. Indexed.

*For Congress and the Nation: A Chronological History of the Library of Congress.* 1978. 196 p. By John Y. Cole of the Research Department. A detailed chronology of the expansion of the Library of Congress as an institution serving both the Congress and the nation. Documents the way the Library acquired its various functions and collections. Includes many illustrations and an index.

<sup>1</sup> For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402, unless otherwise noted. There is a minimum charge of one dollar for each mail order. All orders must be prepaid. Checks for items ordered from the LC Information Office should be made payable to the Library of Congress. Remittance to the Superintendent of Documents may be made by coupon, money order, express order, check, or charge against a deposit account.

*The Federal Republic of Germany: A Selected Bibliography of English-Language Publications.* 1978. 116 p. \$3. Compiled by Arnold H. Price of the Slavic and Central European Division. This substantially enlarged and revised second edition reflects the developments that have occurred in the Federal Republic of Germany over the last ten years. The bibliography contains 1,325 entries and is arranged alphabetically within the following categories: Reference works and general surveys, history, politics and government, the legal and judicial system, foreign affairs, the economy, the society, religious life, culture, public affairs, and Berlin. Includes an author and subject index.

*Islam in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Partially Annotated Guide.* 1978. 318 p. \$8.50. Compiled by Samir M. Zoghby of the African Section. A bibliography of selected books and articles on the Islamization of the sub-Saharan zone, the structure of Muslim populations, the attitudes of converted peoples, the reactions to European imperialism, and the political relations between Muslim states. Entries are arranged by historical period and subdivided by region and then by subject. Includes a glossary, a list of periodicals, and an index.

*The Journal of Gideon Olmsted: Adventures of a Sea Captain during the American Revolution.* 1978. 130 p. \$17.50. Introduction and reading text by Gerard W. Gwalt, American Revolution Bicentennial Office, and coda by Charles W. Kreidler, Georgetown University. Gideon Olmsted's thirty-year litigation over the prize money from the sale of the British sloop *Active* set an early precedent for the supremacy of federal over state authority. Olmsted's journal, published here for the first time, describes a trading voyage which turned into a nightmare of captivity, torture, privation, and mutiny and led to that monumental court battle. Reproduced here both in facsimile and in an edited version, the journal offers not only a provocative account of the adventures of a swashbuckling privateersman but also insight into the history of the English language in America. Dr. Kreidler's essay explores the linguistic significance of the journal.

*Letters from a Distinguished American: Twelve Essays by John Adams on American Foreign Policy, 1780.* 1978. 66 p. \$3.75. Compiled and edited by James H. Hutson, coordinator, American Revolution Bicentennial Program. The essays compiled here were written in Paris, where Adams had been sent to negotiate peace with Great Britain, and published in London in the *General Advertiser* in response to loyalist pamphleteer Joseph Galloway's *Cool Thoughts on the Consequences to Great Britain of American Independence*. An introduction and concluding appendix by the editor provide historical background for the letters.

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